



249594

Cat. 142101-03-0249574

AFRICA QUARTERLY

A Journal Of African Affairs

Vol. IV

April-June 1964

No. 1

CONTENTS

3

Page

British Democracy and Economic Sanctions against South Africa	...	K. K. Shah	4
Land Settlement Schemes in Kenya	...	N. S. Carey Jones	9
Modern Trends in Indian Literature	...	Prabhakar Machwe	20
Malawi and Zambia	...	G. S. Pathak	26
Problems of Socialist Transformation in Developing Countries (Seminar Report)	...		30
Quarterly Chronicle	...		48
Activities of the Council	...		57
Books Received	...		61
Bibliography	...		62

Note To Contributors

The Indian Council for Africa welcomes articles and contributions from all interested in African affairs, especially from those making particular studies of African problems and people. Remuneration may be paid for articles and contributions accepted for publication in the journal.

The views expressed in the articles under the authors' names are not necessarily those held by the Council.

AFRICA QUARTERLY

(A Journal of African Affairs)

Editor:

Balvantray Gopaljee Mehta, M.L.A.

Editorial Board:

Asoka Mehta

Dinesh Singh

Kakasaheb Kalelkar

G. L. Mehta

B. Shiva Rao

H. N. Kunzru

Associate Editor:

S. A. Mehdi, M.P.

AFRICA QUARTERLY is published in January, April, July and October every year.

AFRICA QUARTERLY is devoted to a study and objective understanding of African affairs. It publishes contributions from outstanding writers, experts and specialists on various political, economic, social, cultural and literary subjects of interest to the people of Africa. Apart from these, it carries documentation on different specialised African subjects.

© Contents Copyright

Subscription (in India): Rs. 10 per annum
Single Copy: Rs. 3

Subscription (Foreign): £ 1. 10 sh. or \$ 5
Single Copy: 9 sh. or \$ 1.50

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Mr. K.K. Shah is a Member of Parliament and a former General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee. He has been a member of the Syndicate of Bombay University and of the Senates of Bombay and Baroda Universities. He led the Indian delegation to the International Conference on Economic Sanctions Against South Africa held in London in April, 1964.

Mr. N.S. Carey Jones was lately Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Lands and Settlement in Kenya. A former Chairman of the Editorial Board of the East African Economics Review, he is the author of "The Pattern of a Dependent Economy."

Dr. Prabhakar Machwe is Assistant Secretary of the Sahitya Academy. Author of a number of books, he has been Visiting Professor of Indian Literature at the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. G.S. Pathak is a Member of Parliament. A former member of the Indian Law Commission, he has represented India at a number of international conferences, including the recent London Conference on Economic Sanctions Against South Africa.

BRITISH DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

by K.K. SHAH

WEATHER in April in London is unpredictable. Intermittent showers, lashing and biting winds take you by surprise and remind you of the vagaries of human life. The atmosphere of the International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa truly reflected the unpredictable nature of the English weather. The selection of London as the venue was a calculated risk. England has the highest economic stake in South Africa. Large sections of the population are still attached to South Africa by emotional bonds. The ruling Conservative Party, in spite of the pressure of world opinion, has all along refused to apply political pressure against Dr. Verwoerd's Government. The Labour Party, though sympathetic, could not take any risk because of the proximity of the general elections. The Afro-Asian bloc could not have been more divided on account of the problems facing individual members of the bloc and it was anybody's guess as to what extent personal bickerings would affect the proceedings of the conference.

India was one of the few countries which were represented by powerful delegations. The Government of India, realising the tremendous importance of the conference, had trained her top economic and legal guns by including in the delegation economic experts like Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, Dr. Patel, Dr. Raj and legal brains like Mr. Pathak. England had also concentrated her might of economic and legal experts to convince the conference how difficult and impractical the work of applying economic sanctions was. Interested parties were at pains by the time we reached there to see that the talent of the Indian delegation was not utilized; they put up claims of countries with whom India did not see eye to eye. It must be said to the credit of the sponsors of the conference, specially Dr. Segal, who saw through the game and took no time in convincing the participant countries that they had come to the conference to advance the cause of South Africans and not to put forward their rival claims. The paper written by Dr. Raj pointing out how unilateral sanctions could not work was sought to be exploited. As a historical event, he had pointed out that the economic sanctions applied by India as far back as 1946 had benefited Pakistan in as much as Pakistan's jute trade with South Africa had gone up to Rs. 20 crores, which was India's loss, and had made South Africa none the worse. This was sought to be misrepresented as a tirade against Pakistan

but the fact that Pakistan was trading with South Africa put an end to all chances of such manipulations succeeding. On the contrary, Pakistan's representative was obliged to assure the conference that Pakistan would discontinue this trade. A plea by Dr. Raj for acceptance of the assurance of Pakistan charged the situation with a new purpose and dynamism which were greatly responsible for the success of the conference.

The work of Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao as Chairman of one of the Economic Commissions and the work of Mr. G. S. Pathak in the legal and drafting committee were highly appreciated. The selection of the leader of the Indian delegation as one of the speakers at a public meeting at which representatives of five countries, viz., England, America, Russia, South Africa and India, were chosen to speak was indicative of the appreciation of the services rendered by India.

It was realised both by the conference as well as by the British public that South Africa provided an acid test for lovers of democracy and human dignity. The tall claims of the Government of Dr. Verwoerd that it was wedded to democracy and that it had undertaken to observe the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a member of the United Nations Organisation were torn to pieces by speaker after speaker, who presented facts which could be neither doubted nor controverted. The South African pass-laws, which had made Sharpsville front-page news all over the world, were proved to be not only undemocratic but remnants of the slave trade. To force a native of South Africa to carry a pass with him in his own country where 7/8th of the population is ruled by 1/8th of the population can be nothing but a mockery of democracy.

The description of the Group Areas Act left no doubt in the minds of the conference that segregation of the black population in demarcated areas had uprooted tens of thousands of people and rendered them homeless without recourse to any remedial measure, legal or otherwise. It demonstrated how segregation was intended to prove the racial supremacy of the white population and how 7/8th of the land of South Africa was intended to be reserved for 1/8th of the population and how 1/8th of the land was demarcated for 7/8th of the population which was black. When the provisions of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill were explained, they carried conviction that the Bill was designed to impose stricter control on the movement of Africans into urban areas and to send back by force to Bantu reserves those Africans who were not considered essential even though they had lived in urban areas for as long as 50 years. Not only were 'POQO' and 'UMKONTO', 'We Sizewe' (spear of the nation) and two other organisations banned on the ground that they were the same as the Pan Africanist Congress or the African National Congress but many people were detained without trial on the ground that they were Communists. Anyone who opposed the ruthless repressive

measures of Dr. Verwoerd's Government was branded as a Communist whether he was black or white. When it was pointed out that Rev. Dr. Arthur Blaxall, an elderly priest who has devoted his life to the service of the deaf and the blind and who is an outspoken critic of the policy of apartheid (racial segregation), was dubbed as a Communist and charged under the so-called Suppression of Communism Act because the South African Government had no reply to his criticisms, the conference realised how the sentiment against "Communism" was sought to be exploited by Dr. Verwoerd and how everyone who did not agree with the South African Government was branded as a Communist and was either detained without trial or was sentenced. Pocket size tear-gas bombs which can be used like a fly spray are on sale in Johannesburg. They are sold only to the whites and are freely used against the non-whites. The repression is so widespread that it is reflected even in the courts of law. The atmosphere in courts is chilly, almost terrifying. Iron gates bar the way and police—hundreds of them—watch every movement in the courts and listen to every word spoken there. There is no freedom even to defend oneself.

Large-scale arrests and detentions and the demarcation of group areas entail a heavy strain on the economy of South Africa. The defence expenditure has risen from 44 million rand in 1960-61 to 129 million rand in 1962-63. The armed forces are entirely white. When it was proved that had it not been for the huge funds supplied by Great Britain and to some extent by the U.S.A. the strain would have broken the South African economy and would have forced the country to retrace her steps, even the hardened supporters of Great Britain could not suppress their disapproval. The economic experts from Great Britain realised the gravity of the situation and were at pains to suggest alternative measures. Had it not been for the studied silence observed by the entire British Press about the proceedings of the conference, a new wave of moral responsibility would have swept Great Britain and tilted public opinion in favour of economic sanctions against South Africa.

The total value of foreign investments in South Africa amounted to 4,253 million dollars at the end of 1961, the most recent year for which details are available. The investment of the U.K. was 2,526 million dollars, being 63.6 per cent of the total investment. The investment of the U.S.A. was 505 million dollars, being 12 per cent of the total investment. It was proved beyond a shadow of doubt that Great Britain and the U.S.A. were actuated more by economic interests than by considerations of either democratic principles or human rights and that had it not been for the financial support received by South Africa from the U.K. and the U.S.A., it would not have been possible for South Africa to disregard the condemnation of its policies (of racial segregation and ruthless implementation thereof) by the United Nations, which has been seized of the problem of apartheid

since its inception and has passed 29 resolutions asking South Africa to scrap measures so inhuman and so brutal. Repeated appeals by the General Assembly since its inception and the Security Council during the last decade or so to the Union of South Africa to desist from its discriminatory racial policy and to initiate measures aimed at bringing about racial harmony based on the principle of equality have failed to evoke any response from the Government of South Africa. On the contrary, the United Nations' appeals have been met by sterner measures of repression and suppression of civil liberties. It was realised that since all diplomatic pressure and peaceful methods of persuasion had gone unheeded, the time had come for pressure being applied in an effective way. This can happen only if the major trading partners of South Africa, among whom England tops the list, fall in line with the rest of the world. In spite of such callous indifference shown by the U.K. and the U.S.A., the people's leaders have maintained equanimity and have offered to safeguard the interests of the white population. Walter Sisulu, who is among those detained for an indefinite period, has stated unequivocally that the fundamental principle in their struggle is equal rights for all, irrespective of colour or creed. Robert Sobukwe, who served a three-year term in jail and is still under detention, has stated that freedom for Africans means freedom for everybody, including the Europeans in South Africa.

It was pointed out at the conference that if such assurances found no response from Dr. Verwoerd and his Government and if the saner course of applying economic sanctions was not supported by the U.K. and the U.S.A., the only alternative was a bloody racial war not only in South Africa but in the whole of Africa. The African leaders were at pains to explain that many of the African countries had become independent and could not permit the caravan of suppression of civil liberties and segregation of black people in South Africa to march on. The whole of Africa had not risen in arms and had avoided a bloody war in the belief that the U.N.O. would not fail them. They pleaded that they wanted to preserve the U.N.O. because it was the only guarantee for peace in the world. But there is a limit beyond which no sensible man can expect people to wait in the pious hope that some day the major powers who are partners of South Africa would see reason. Speaker after speaker, both in the conference hall and at public meetings, pointed out that the choice for the supporters of South Africa was between a bloody revolution and a peaceful transition to democracy which alone could secure for the white population safety of their lives and property, equality of opportunity and a guarantee of fundamental rights. The conference was pleading for economic sanctions as that was the only way to persuade the South African Government to accept the saner course of peaceful transition to democracy.

The fact that even British experts agreed to the unanimous resolution

LAND SETTLEMENT SCHEMES IN KENYA

by N. S. CAREY JONES

ALTHOUGH land settlement schemes have been a feature of Government policy in Kenya for the past 15-20 years, such schemes as have been on Government land have rarely been popular. This paper is not concerned with such schemes, but with the more recent schemes for the purchase of European farms and their settlement by Africans.

Soon after the beginning of this century when Europeans first came to Kenya as settlers they occupied areas which appeared to be unoccupied—generally certain no-man's-lands between different tribes which were the scene of tribal warfare but not in cultivation, and also certain lands obtained by treaty from the Masai tribe which used extensive grazing lands in the highlands of Kenya. Most of the areas settled by them were therefore areas of dispute between tribes and of competing tribal claims. This has made the task of re-settling them more difficult. The lands in the Coastal Area, previously under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Zanzibar, are owned by Arabs, Indians and Europeans but these have not formed part of the settlement schemes.

The highlands of Kenya contain some of the richest agricultural land in Africa. They vary enormously from area to area, both in rainfall and altitude. Almost all crops can be grown in one part or another while two crops a year are obtainable in some areas. Of these rich lands four-fifths remained in African hands and only one-fifth was occupied by Europeans, mainly engaged in the production of coffee, tea and pyrethrum, the chief exports of the country and the major earners of foreign exchange. The rich lands represented also about one-fifth of the European farmlands. The remainder were ranching and mixed farming areas (wheat, barley, dairy products and beef) developed with private capital over the years and by the ploughing back of profits. The bulk of the mixed farming lands can be said to be in mid-development; in another 10-20 years they would have been fully developed. At present they are not, with some rare exceptions, although they appeared to be highly developed in comparison with the neighbouring African lands, whose development has only begun in the last 10 years and is making rapid progress.

The pressures of population in Kenya are variable. The Kikuyu tribe between the Aberdare Mounts and Mt. Kenya, occupying some of the best land, are heavily overpopulated. To the west around the shores of Lake Victoria, the Luo are overpopulated and to the north of

them the Abaluhya are the densest of all, with up to 1,500 per square mile. These have cast envious eyes on the European farms and have seen them as the solution of their population problems. Other tribes are not pressed for land, but have wanted a share in the European lands, and have claimed "spheres of influence" over parts of them, as have the denser tribes. Many of these "spheres of influence" overlap, so that the settlement of members of one tribe within a "sphere of influence" claimed by another tribe is potentially dangerous.

In 1959 when the European highlands were opened to all races it was obvious that changing the law would have no effect. Europeans would be unlikely to sell to Africans and Africans with sufficient money and experience to buy and operate a large farm were rare. Shortly after, however, the first conference on Kenya's independence took place, and the attitude of a number of Europeans changed. The Government devised the first settlement scheme to cover 180,000 acres of mixed farming land of high potential but under-developed. The scheme was designed to increase development, particularly through the planting of coffee, tea and pyrethrum. Each settler was to have a planned holding designed to produce a net income of at least £100 per annum (or 10% of the capital invested, if greater) after meeting all debts, including the cost of the land and his development loans, and after growing the basic food needs of his family. This scheme is still being operated and is successful and productive. The farming basis has, however, had to be changed, owing to the International Coffee Agreement restricting further coffee planting and the saturation of the world pyrethrum market. The emphasis is now on dairy produce based on high-grade European stock which has the advantage of bringing in a regular monthly income.

In 1961 in the face of increasing political pressures a second scheme, known as the High Density Scheme, was introduced to make a more rapid transfer of land from European to African ownership and to relieve at least part of the unemployment problem, which had developed after the first independence talks with the cessation of new capital investment, always previously a large factor in the Kenya economy. This scheme was to cover 170,000 acres but in 1962 was increased to one million acres, or one-third of the mixed farming areas in European hands. Ranching lands were generally excluded because they were not suitable for settlement. Plantations were excluded because they were too expensive and because they were already fully developed. This scheme provided for a net income, on the same basis, of £25-£40 per annum, which has since been increased in some areas to £70 per annum. Whereas the settlers under the earlier scheme were required to have agricultural experience and a working capital of their own, under the High Density Scheme they were only required to be landless and unemployed.

The object of the settlement schemes is primarily political: to achieve a rapid transfer of ownership of land from Europeans to

Africans, but at the same time to increase development. It was expected that at independence, without the schemes, there would be a land grab, that Africans would move into the European farms in large numbers and effectively drive the Europeans out, that the farms would revert to subsistence agriculture and that there might well be tribal warfare once again in the competing "spheres of influence". If this had happened, and all dangers of it happening are not yet past, the economy of the country would be destroyed, which would do no one any good.

In both schemes the money for land purchase is provided by Britain, since no foreign sources of funds are willing to finance a transfer of ownership which brings no development of itself. The money is provided two-thirds by loan, which is recoverable from the settlers at $6\frac{1}{2}\%$ interest, and one-third by grant to cover the areas used up in (i) roads of access to each settler's holding (ii) public places, schools, churches, etc. (iii) trading sites and villages (not for the settlers who live on their holdings) and to allow the write-off of buildings and permanent improvements not of any value for the settlement scheme. The land is bought on a willing buyer/willing seller basis, without recourse to arbitration, and no European is compelled to sell his land although in practice most do so as it would be difficult to run a large-scale mixed farm in the middle of a settlement area. The value is assessed by professional valuers on the basis of the 1958/9 market values with a maximum value of £1,300 for a house, unless it is to be used for settlement purposes when the maximum is £2,500. This was the last date on which there was an untrammelled market for land. The average price paid, including all permanent improvements but excluding loose assets and stock, was about £10 per acre. This price may be very slightly above the economic value because it was fashionable to farm in Kenya and the price may have anticipated further development of the country on the old lines. Current land values in those areas where Europeans are still buying appear to run at about 30% below this, but this discounts heavily the uncertainty about the future and is well below the economic value. In many areas, however, it will be impossible for Europeans to farm in the future and there are no current land transactions nor any basis for assessing a value except for the old 1958/9 values. From the point of view of Europeans the maintenance of the values is important since at that time most of them were busy developing their farms and borrowing to do so. Their borrowing was related to those values.

The earlier scheme was able to attract finance for development loans to settlers from the World Bank and the Commonwealth Development Corporation because of its high development content, and it became known as the IBRD/CDC or Low Density Scheme. The use of the expressions "Low Density" and "High Density" can, however, be misleading, since the density depends on the nature of

the land, and some "Low Density" schemes have a higher density than some "High Density" schemes. The High Density Scheme attracted development loan finance from Germany in part and the remainder from Britain. The administrative and technical costs of both schemes, including mapping, planning, soil conservation works, lay-out, subsistence to settlers before their first crops come in, are met by Britain by grant. This means that if the schemes are successful they will cost Kenya nothing. If they fail she will have a large foreign debt burden.

Since the introduction of the Internal Self-Government Constitution in June, 1963, the provisions of which were largely repeated in the Independence Constitution of December, 1963, the responsibility for settlement previously vested in a Land Development and Settlement Board subject to the direction of the Government has been divided into three parts. Kenya was, at the same time, divided into seven Regions (based on the major tribal groupings) which have considerable powers of their own. This was done to recognize and canalise the growth of tribal feelings as independence approached. One of the Regions has never come into effective being, the one on the border of Somalia where intermittent skirmishes take place and a state of emergency has been declared. All Regions except this cover part of the old European areas, although the Coast Region's interest is very small as the major part of the Coast lands in alien hands (Arab, Indian and European in that order of magnitude) were not regarded as part of the European Highlands.

The selection of land for settlement schemes, its valuation and purchase are the responsibility of the Central Land Board, an independent constitutional body, composed of a member from each Region, one from the Central Government, one from the European sellers of land and an independent Chairman and Deputy Chairman. Here the disputes between the different Regions over their share in settlement are thrashed out. Although independent, the Board derives its finance from the Government which therefore has some ultimate say in what happens and, in practice, the staff of the Board and the Government's settlement staff work in close concert, so that land which is useless for settlement is not bought and so that major political issues and development problems are taken into account by the Board.

The responsibility for deciding on what kind of schemes to put on the land so bought lies with the Government, which finances schemes through an Agricultural Settlement Fund independent of the main accounting system of the Government. The Fund is managed by an Officer Administering the Fund who is responsible to three Trustees, the Minister for Finance (ensuring Treasury control), the Minister for Agriculture (ensuring close liaison with general agricultural policy) and the Minister for Lands and Settlement, who is responsible for day-to-day policy matters.

When the schemes have been laid out, the Presidents of the Assemblies for the Regions in which the schemes are situated are responsible, in consultation with the Minister, for nominating the settlers. This ensures that no Region is required to accept settlers whom it does not want (i.e. from some other tribe). The settler then receives a Letter of Allotment from the Central Land Board, which is a contract to issue a freehold title when the holding has been re-surveyed for registration of title—some 2-3 years after settlement—and its boundaries are clearly visible from the air.

This division of responsibilities is not based on any nice theories but was the result of hard bargaining in the constitutional talks. The basic principle is that the Government retains control of the execution of schemes and of what kind of schemes are mounted since it is at this point that decisions about settlement affect every other aspect of Government policy.

The execution of schemes is carried out by a Department of Settlement within the Settlement Fund Trustees organisation and under the overall control of the Officer Administering the Fund. The chief officers at headquarters, apart from the Director of Settlement (a professional agriculturist with an unrivalled knowledge of the area) and his Deputy, are: a Senior Administrative Officer to look after all the problems concerned with documentation of settlers, security for loans, eviction of those unable to pay, etc., relations with local authorities (particularly with regard to the provision of medical care, education and the maintenance of roads); an Economist for the appraisal of schemes to ensure that they comply with the terms on which finance is made available, and for the preparation of projects; a Marketing Officer to keep in touch with the main produce firms and world market trends, and to introduce new or specialised crops for which markets can be found; an Agricultural Technologist; a Loans Officer to supervise the issue of credit; a Co-operative Officer to supervise the organisation of co-operatives on all schemes; a Veterinary Officer to arrange for the care of the organisation's own livestock and that of the settlers and to organize artificial insemination arrangements; a Hydraulic Engineer; a Soil Conservation and Planning Officer and a Chief Accountant. The Officer Administering the Fund and his Deputy deal with the political, financial and personnel aspects of settlement in close consultation with the Minister.

The speed of settlement is one of the essentials of policy and there is no doubt that political considerations demand greater speed than would otherwise be desirable. Speed depends on careful advance planning, and a great number of things have to be available at the right times. This is often difficult as emergency action in unexpected places may be necessary for political or security reasons and this disturbs planning and makes settlement more expensive. It is necessary to phase carefully a year's purchases of land first, to fit in with a

general phasing of settlement. The date of takeover of each farm must be fixed. This is frequently liable to change, because a farmer may refuse to sell, and there may be legal delays or delays in agreeing on the price. A planning committee of all interested parties meets fortnightly to keep the programme under constant review.

The next necessity is for suitable contoured maps for the planners. The ability to provide or obtain these often governs the dating of the land purchase programme; very few farms are properly mapped, and this means organising aerial surveys with ground control to provide the maps, which may take 4-6 months to prepare. This work is done by the Survey of Kenya at an average charge of 6/- to 7/- per acre.

When the maps are ready they are handed over to the Ministry of Agriculture Farm Planning Service, which then plans and lays out on the maps the holdings on a scheme. Each IBRD/CDC scheme covers a unit of approximately 5,000 acres; each High Density Scheme a unit of approximately 10,000 acres. The land has to be examined carefully, the holdings designed to take account of the nature of the land, the target income and the soil conservation needs. While each holding on a scheme is planned to give about the same target income they will vary widely in size and shape. On first class land 7 acres will provide the target income for the High Density Scheme, but other holdings may rise to 40 acres for the same income. Farm budgets are worked out for each class of holding in a scheme, indicating how the income is to be achieved. These budgets are conservative with a number of safety factors built in. Any reasonable man should be able to achieve them; a good farmer can do very much better. The best so far is one farmer on a 15-acre holding with a target net income of £100 per annum who is making over £1,009 per annum after $2\frac{1}{2}$ years and still developing. The critical elements in budgeting are the land charge (the original cost of the land and permanent improvements less one-third) and the development loan. These are fully recoverable from the settler at $6\frac{1}{2}\%$ interest; the land charge over 30 years, the development loan over 10 years. The one-third deduction from the price paid for the land is the grant element received from Britain towards land purchase. This may be varied between schemes, depending on the nature of the land, so long as the average is one-third. Some schemes have had a deduction of 6% and some of nothing. The cost of the Planning Services averages 6/- per acre.

When the planning is completed, it is laid out on the ground by the Soil Conservation Service, by cutting the boundaries of holdings (which usually correspond to the Soil Conservation ditches), laying out main roads to third class earth-road standards, and an access road to each holding. This requires that machinery be available at the right places, at the right times and that time and money are not

wasted with having to move heavy machinery over large distances across the country. The cost of this is about 15/- per acre, but there is an element of subsidy as well, since the Kenya Government has always subsidised the Soil Conservation Service.

These four factors, land purchase and take-over, mapping, planning and lay-out, have to be closely geared together so that each is ready to do its part at the right time, so that there is no waste of time and money. It is the Planning Committee's job to ensure this. The services are supplied by other departments of the Government.

The rest is the main responsibility of the Department of Settlement through its field services. The total area is under the charge of three Area Settlement Controllors, all professional agriculturists who are required to see that settlement schemes and the Trustees' farming operations are properly done. Under them are nine Senior Settlement Officers who form the main administrative and accounting unit in the field. On each scheme is a Settlement Officer and a Clerk, together with a "Field Unit" of staff from other departments; 2-5 agricultural instructors and assistant instructors; 2-3 Veterinary Assistants or inseminators; a health assistant; 2-4 tribal policemen under a headman. Professional agricultural staff is available at the Area Settlement Controllors Offices for technical guidance, although all Controllors are themselves professional agriculturists. Veterinary services are provided by the organisation paying a retainer to private veterinary surgeons.

When a farm is bought the Settlement Officer has to take it over and check the condition of the permanent improvements, provide for the care of buildings, etc. He will already have negotiated with the farmer for the purchase of any loose assets required by the Settlement Fund Trustees. These will include livestock in good condition, since not only is it necessary to ensure that a sufficient quantity of grade cattle acclimatised to the area will be available for issue to the settlers, but it is also necessary to farm the land before it is laid out and settled, since the Trustees are paying interest on two-thirds of the money laid out on its purchase. He will also buy any standing annual crops and will harvest them himself. He may also buy furniture since the houses will provide him and his staff with quarters, and he may have to arrange for the adaptation of buildings to provide more quarters. Entry will have already been obtained and the mapping and planning completed. The Settlement Officer will take over the farmer's labour and keep it in employment on the "pre-settlement development", i.e., lay-out and soil conservation work, collecting fencing for resale to the settlers, re-arranging the water supply system, etc. Most of the labour, unless their tribe is located in another Region, can expect to be settled on a High Density Scheme, but not if they own land elsewhere. When the holdings are ready the Region is informed of the number and asked to nominate the settlers for High Density Schemes. Those for IBRD/CDC schemes will be

chosen by the Settlement Officer. They will have a report on their agricultural experience from their nearest Agricultural Officer, and will have to give evidence that they have the prescribed amount of working capital. The names are then forwarded to the Region for confirmation. Settlers selected for IBRD/CDC schemes select their holdings, but those for High Density Schemes have the holdings allocated to them. IBRD/CDC scheme settlers have to meet the registration costs and stamp duty on their titles and to pay 10% of the land charge before taking up their holdings. They are also required to deposit their prescribed working capital with the Trustees and to withdraw it for specific purposes only. They receive $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ interest on the balance. High Density Settlers have to pay only the registration costs and stamp duty, and an amount of £5-7. As they have no working capital, they are given employment on general scheme work at 2/- per day, or given their subsistence until their own crops come in. In order to speed this and to make sure that settlers are able to meet their first loan repayment on its due date six months later, the Trustees break and plough ready for planting 2-3 acres on each holding. The cost of this is charged to the settlers.

The settlers' loan programme is drawn up at the time of planning a scheme. On High Density Schemes the amount is £100 for those with a target income of £25-£40 per annum, and £160 for those with a target income of £70 per annum. Not more than 10% may go on unproductive purposes (i.e. a house) and even this percentage has been reduced in practice to cover the cost of doors and windows, nails, screws and hinges. The materials for walls and roof can be found on the holdings or nearby. The settler can, and does, build a better house when he has made some money. The remainder of the loan goes into grade cattle, fencing for his paddocks, fertilisers and tools. He receives no cash, but obtains from the Settlement Officer a purchase order on a local firm for his requirements. This is paid for directly by the Trustees and debited to his account.

The settler usually builds his house first, then plants his subsistence crops, then plants his cash crops and finally fences his holding and his paddocks and acquires his cows (or, for certain areas, his woolled sheep). Development loans take 15 months before they are fully drawn and the settler is really started.

The responsibility for all this lies with the Settlement Officers, who must also deal with the settlers' personal and family problems, the inevitable grouses and complaints, and must make sure that supplies of seed and fertiliser are available, that cattle are available or, if the settler chooses to buy from a farmer directly, that they have veterinary certificates. Soon he is trying to organise the marketing of the first crops or the milk or butterfat. To help in all these problems the first thing he does is to ask the settlers to elect a Scheme Committee. With this committee he talks over all the problems,

listens to the complaints and irons out the difficulties. The next thing is to form a co-operative. The co-operative looks after the marketing of produce, takes over the dairy, may run elementary processing plants and water supplies, arrange for the payment of settlers' debts by monthly deductions from their sales and own machinery for work on holdings to iron out those periods of peak labour demand which cannot be met by the settler, his family or any regular labour he may have. Once the co-operative is well-developed, its committee becomes the principle organising body, and the original Scheme Committee tends to fade into the background. On the co-operative committee will fall much of the responsibility for the success of the scheme when the Settlement Officer and his "field unit" withdraw after $2\frac{1}{2}$ years.

The training of settlers is taken care of by the technical advisory staff at various levels, by peripatetic training teams who visit schemes and give 2—3 day courses on particular subjects, and by courses arranged for settlers and their wives at Farmers Training Centres in various areas.

The total cost of all the schemes for the seven years from 1961/2, including two years at the end to supervise the last schemes to be mounted in 1965/6, is estimated at £25 million, of which £11½ million is for land purchase, £8 million for development loans and £5½ million for pre-settlement development, subsistence to settlers, administrative and technical costs and advisory and educational services. Of this last the administrative costs amount to about £2 million, or 8% of the whole. By the end of June 1964 about 750,000 acres had been bought, leaving 380,000 still to be bought. There is a time lag between purchase and settlement and because of the difficulty of organising all the various factors that go into putting a scheme on the ground, the settlement of the land has for administrative reasons to be in arrears. By the same date about 17,500 families had been settled, leaving a further 18,500 to be settled. Experience shows that the settlers are twice as numerous, on the average, as the labour previously employed, although this is not the case with IBRD/CDC schemes. The budgets for these schemes, however, provide for the employment of labour and thus the numbers engaged on the land under them is also about double the number of previous labour. The production targets are generally some 50% above the previous production levels, and more so on the IBRD/CDC schemes, with a potential for further growth.

Certain areas of poorer land, which have had to be bought for political reasons to satisfy the aspirations of particular tribes, are settled with co-operatives on a simple dairy-ranching or beef-ranching economy which does not saddle a co-operative with the difficult decisions that have to be made in mixed farming. Generally these lands do not support many more after settlement than before and all that is achieved is a change of ownership. Co-operative and collective

farms have become popular for ideological reasons with many politicians but generally the people themselves want to own their own land. The exception is provided by those who see co-operatives as a means of short-circuiting the normal system for selecting settlers. There is also the familiar argument that large-scale farming is becoming more and more the pattern of agriculture all over the world and brings advantages in the use of machinery and greater out-put per man. In Kenya, however, men are plentiful and increasing, and unemployment is growing. Intensive small-scale agriculture is more productive per acre, which is the primary need. In fact, of course apart from the ownership of land, many agricultural activities are carried out by the co-operatives formed on each scheme and the advantages of co-operation are gained in those activities which require it while individual ownership of land secures to the farmer the greatest incentive to increase production.

The average cost of settling a family under the High Density Scheme is :

Land Purchase	£ 326
Development Loans	£ 177
Other Costs	£ 144
	<hr/>
	£ 647

of which £395 is recoverable from the settler (£218 of land over 30 years and £177 of development loans over 10 years) leaving a net charge of £252 which is met by grant from Britain.

The average cost of settling a family under the IBRD/CDC scheme is :

Land Purchase	£316	(less than under the High Density Scheme because of less developed land being generally taken, although this is partly offset by purchase for political reasons of poorer land under the High Density Scheme).
Development Loans	£412	(indicating the higher Development element in the scheme, possible with carefully selected settlers with their own finance).
Other Costs	£203	(indicating the more intensive advisory and other services provided under this scheme).
	<hr/>	
	£931	

Of this, £623 is recoverable from the settler (£211 of land and £412 of development loans).

The development loans include loans to co-operatives, loans for the installation of water supplies, loans to contractors and co-operatives for machinery. Water supply loans are repayable over 20 years, machinery loans over 2-3 years; other co-operative loans depend on the life of the asset for determining the period of repayment. In addition co-operatives can obtain buildings purchased with farms (such as dairies) at a very much reduced price payable over 10 years.

MODERN TRENDS IN INDIAN LITERATURE

by PRABHAKAR MACHWE

IN 1857 there was a rising in India against British rule, mostly by soldiers assisted by a few deposed and disgruntled princes. Historians have called it differently : the British called it the Sepoy Mutiny and a Hindu Nationalist leader the First War of Independence. In 1957, the Government of India published an objective account of the event by an eminent historian, the late S. C. Sen, and called it merely 1857. All later attempts at throwing away the foreign yoke, ranging from petitions to Queen Victoria by the Liberals to the rash bomb-throwing and the bravado exhibited by the angry young men at the turn of the century, were misunderstood and distorted by partisan historians.

Three very significant events happened in the first decade of this century which determined the direction of our freedom movement. I am discussing this political background as I feel Nationalism as the first important and strongest trend in Modern Indian Literature. These three events were: in 1904 the Vision of the Divine which Sri Aurobindo had in the Alipore Central Jail and which changed the course of his life—a *volte face* from extremist fire-and-brimstone methods to a quiet and silent niche in Pondicherry. He turned from a revolutionary to a recluse. In 1913 Tagore's winning of the Nobel Prize and his subsequent travels abroad and his attempt at building bridges across the seven seas. The third was the return of Gandhiji from South Africa and the launching of his First Non-co-operation Movement in 1920. More than any other forces from abroad like Marx or Freud, Nietzsche or Thoreau, more than any thinkers, past or present, these three great men influenced the destiny of our literatures.

- Aurobindo's Search for the Divine in Man,
- Tagore's Quest for the Beautiful in Nature and Man,
- Gandhi's Experiments with Truth and Non-violence.

Our nationalism, eventually, could not be of the type of the Greek nation-states or Soviet nationalities, nor even of the type of the Italian *Ressurgiments*, nor of the Japanese Rising Sun cult. Our nationalism borrowed from abroad, but remained Indian, in a syncretic manner. Our nationalism was mingled with our spiritual tradition, with our ideals of tolerance and non-alignment, with our concern for the timeless rather than the ephemeral. Aurobindo, Tilak and Gandhi all wrote commentaries on the Geeta. Maulana

Azad wrote a commentary on the Quran. They could not rest satisfied with mere politics. Its petty manoeuvres and manipulations disgusted them. Our nationalism included in itself internationalism. Tagore, though a guest of Mussolini, criticised Fascism; Nehru sent his sympathies to the Spanish revolutionary fighters. Our nationalism had also a strong ethical underlining—the sanctity of means co-equal with the ends.

All this had its echo in literatures written in various languages. The nationalist poets like Bankimchandra and Bharati, Maithilisharan Gupta and Chakbast, Gopbandhu and Vallathol, Kesha-vasuta and Narmad sang with their full-throated voice and sounded the clarion call in all languages. While some bemoaned the economic exploitation and impoverishment wrought by British rule and even sang of the return of the good old days, others were critical of the inner weaknesses in our social fabric like the caste system or the ill-treatment of widows and still others wrote odes to freedom fighters abroad. Tagore wrote a remarkable poem on Africa. In prose Gandhi's spell brought the artist nearer to the "Return to the Villages" as in Prem Chand's "Godan". Tagore discussed the question of East-West confrontation in his novel "Gora"; spiritual yearnings were suggested in novels in South India on Nationalist movements ("Alai Osai" by Kalki in Tamil; "Malpalli" by Unnava Lakshminarayana in Telugu).

Romanticism and Tagore

The first urge for freedom from social inequity, from bondage of worn-out traditions and customs parading under the cloak of religion and from all kinds of thralldom dwarfing the aspirations of the free soul came from Tagore's poems. A new outlook on life and love was ushered in by him. The Age of Romantic poetry followed in all languages—the "Chheyavada" (literally the School of Reflection) in Hindi, the "Galeyara Gampu" group in Kannada, the "Sabuj" in Oriya, the "Ravikirana-Mandel" in Marathi were all manifestations of the same spirit in different forms. But this Indian romanticism was fraught with mysticism—it was different from the English romanticism which wanted to break the Christian puritanic shackles and found joy in paganism or Hellenism. Indian romanticism in poetry, in the twenties of this century, was more of the nature of Blake and Browning, John Donne and Victor Hugo, though it had also some traces of the platonic Shelley; not so much of the sensuous Keats. Indian romanticism had no need for the re-assertion of the erotic (Sringara); in medieval poetry of the devotional schools of Krishna, it had reached its acme. The other two moods, namely, the heroic (Veera) and the tragic (Karuna), were re-interpreted. For the romantic poet War was not a covetable affair, it led to unnecessary

violence and wastage; sympathy for the down-trodden ("The Stone-breaker" of 'Nirala' and the "Chandela-Bhikshuki" of Kumaran Asana) had a different meaning. Charity was no more merely a virtue, but "the sharing of the wound", as Walt Whitman would have called it, was the "categorical imperative." The Poor as God (Daridra-Narayana), a word given by Vivekananda, was taken up by Gandhi and no poet in the twenties in India would take the division between the rich and the non-rich as a pre-determined matter. The theory of Karma was re-questioned. 'What man has made of man !' was re-affirmed.

The Romantic movement also enlarged the vision of the poet—his form, accordingly, relaxed from the rigid prosodic regulations in Sanskrit or Persian vogue and took to the blank verse and later *vers libre* also became popular. The desire to be free from the older mannerisms sought new avenues—verse plays and sonnets and the secular lyric and dramatic lyrics were attempted. In prose the romantic mood gave birth to a new short story which did not care so much for the clever plot construction and the rectangular character types, but probed into the psychological motivations. The novel began to see extra-marital love being discussed frankly and also saw the silver lining in the dark clouds by picking up characters from the 'lower depths', the poor folk and the vagabonds ("Charitraheen" by Saratchandra, the "Coolie" by Mulkraj Anand).

Marxist Realism

By the middle of the forties there was a tilt in our literatures towards a vague sort of leftism. In 1934 the Progressive Writers Association was formed in Paris by Mulkraj Anand, Sajjad Zaheer, Ahmed Ali and Raja Rao; the latter two did not quite remain 'progressivists' and Ahmed Ali is in Pakistan and Raja Rao, the author of "Kanthapura" and "The Serpent and the Rope" (Sahitya Akademi Award winning novel for 1963), became a spiritual seeker. But Mulk and Zaheer continued to fiddle with or fidget with 'socialist realism'. Many authors, poets, novelists, dramatists and critics joined the movement and the spell remained till 1945, the end of the last World War.

Some good things were achieved by the 'Progressives,' though some of them later became mouthpieces of political parties and ended up in mere propagandist, sloganistic poster-writing. They rightly emphasised the realistic approach and thus cleared most of the mist around the pseudo-idealistic and over-romantic 'ivory-tower' dwellers. They gave a new vitality to language, which was brought nearer to the spoken word. They brought with themselves new winds from far and near, from distant shores, and the new models now became Gorky and Mayakovsky, Lorca and Pablo Neruda, Aragon and Lu H'shun.

Indian literature had a long tradition of didactic and rhetorical writing; the tendentious writings from the socialistic countries were not going to tell us any more tricks in that respect. We had enough of this pulpit oratory and sermonising, the 'Arise! Awake! March!' stuff. But what Marxist realism brought to the fore was not even the synthesis of two opposites (in the Vedanta and Nyaya systems of philosophy we had sufficient verbal quibbling of the dialecticians), not 'quantity changing the quality' and 'the negation of the negation', but a new kind of ethical involvement, the possibility of overthrowing evil collectively by arousing the conscience, as in the Bengal Famine in 1943, the justification of the nihilistic attitude towards the past, a merciless iconoclasm. Shaw and Ibsen, Bertrand Russell and Trotsky, even Kropatkin and Maltesta were translated. The social commitment of the artist became the subject of a nation-wide debate in literary criticism. As someone put it cryptically, the 'writers became fighters' over-night.

The self-appointed cause, the righteous wrath, the devoted dedication had almost a religious spell and fervour. But the zealots of Realism did not last long: disillusionment followed and India had also its Spenders and Howard Fasts and Koestlers and Pasternaks. Some Progressives turned Aurobindites, others became Anti-Progressivists!

Gandhism and Quest for Higher Values

Indian literature could not remain for long wedded to this-or-that 'ism'. Romanticism turned in its revolutionary zeal to a kind of Realism, which did not satisfy the authors for long (though in some languages the dichotomy between the two was complete: in Urdu, poetry continued to be romantic, fiction became realistic; in Malayalam poetry continued to be romantic, drama and short story became realistic). So the Age of Reason followed. Strangely enough the most saintly amongst the politicians, Gandhiji, showed the way out. Vinoba Bhave said: "All great literature is ultimately non-violence". It was the world-agony of Tagore or the grand compassion that moved the writers again to seek an idealistic purpose. The communal riots following the partition of the country in 1947 and the martyrdom of the Mahatma in 1948 changed the feelings of many writers. Emphasis on mere materialistic growth, the decrying of religion while criticising obscurantist and out-moded practices was not enough. Something positive was needed and Indian literature felt itself almost in a state of vacuum when independence dawned over India.

Many events followed: in 1950 untouchability was abolished in our constitution; we were declared a sovereign democratic republic; major elections followed; three Five-year Plans were undertaken; for a year and a half one state named Kerala had a Communist regime and

it fell; in 1957 Tibet was annexed by China; earlier linguistic states were brought in and a new map of India was drawn; in 1956, the 2,050th anniversary of the Buddha was celebrated; in 1961 the Tagore centenary followed. Indian writers were not mute spectators of these events; some participated in them, others documented them, still others were inspired by some of them. During the last fifteen years the Gandhian ideals were re-examined, some became no more relevant, others were tried in Korea and Bandung, in Goa and NEFA.

Literature had to think about pacifism and 'Ban the A-Bomb!' on the international level; nearer home after the naked Chinese Aggression in 1962 all pens turned into blades of swords! An unprecedented cry for resistance and 'Unity for Defence' arose in all circles spontaneously. Now India can no more tolerate any foreign dominance, any foreign interference, any foreign troops on her land.

Humanism: Scientific and Rational

Nehru, our beloved leader, was a scientific humanist. While Gandhi had something irrational to combat, the Anti-Reason in man, Nehru had for the same purpose invoked the help of Rationalism. The new Indian writer is no more sectarian or communal, narrow-minded and fanatic—he feels free to express himself and experiment as he likes. He is no more bent under the weight of the past heroes or now redundant ideals. He does not live under the romantic fallacy of an unscientific dreamland. He has no illusions about any panaceas and ready-made instant solutions. He is a kind of humanist, if at all a label may be used. This humanism is not of the vague, religio-mystic type, it is also not a word to camouflage political and ideological movements or 'fronts'; it is a genuine concern for Man as such, everywhere, whether in Dallas or in Paris, Moscow or Tokyo, Colombo or New Delhi. Man, striving for equality and fraternity, liberty and emotional security. Indian writers after independence have sought this ideal—they write of the people, for the people, by the people. Not the faceless 'masses' or abstract crowds without a caption, but the real, alive person as an individual. To an individualised experience he owes his art.

Hurdles in the way of Unity in Diversity

In poetry one finds modernism coming to stay. On the one hand there is oral poetry in Mushairas and Kavisamelans, on the other, the experimentation in verse, the neo-classic search for the lost roots, even existentialist concern for futility are discernible. In fiction, more regionalism and minuter psycho-analysis are seen. Most of the novels that won the Sahitya Akademi Award during the last eight years were either about tribals or neglected human spots or were

devoted to a discussion of the eternal problem of Destiny versus Man's Free Will. In drama there is a definite desire to revive folk-forms and charge them with new content.

All this has to be achieved in the peculiar Indian context where literature is written in fourteen languages and several scripts, and sometimes one part of the country is not acquainted with the other. So a rigorous programme of select translations of Indian classics (and foreign classics as well) is carried on by the Sahitya Akademi, established in 1954. This institution has published more than 300 titles uptil now and awarded the highest Indian literary award of Rs 5,000 to 87 authors. Inter-translation has several hurdles. There is paucity of good, expert translators, bi-lingual dictionaries, proper channels to publish such works and so on. But now there is an awareness all over the country and more and more books of this nature are being published. Indian literature has now entered the arena of modernism fully, with all its commercial pressures as well as technological problems.

MALAWI AND ZAMBIA

by G. S. PATHAK

THE political and moral forces released by the two World Wars set in motion the process of liberation of dependent peoples from foreign bondage. A new spirit was abroad. In Africa, as in Asia, a new era dawned. European nations had parcelled out and divided up almost the entire African Continent. This territorial division was mostly artificial and was created by the necessities and exigencies of the colonial Powers. The people of Africa were fired with the enthusiasm of becoming independent and of taking their rightful place in the international community. A struggle for independence was inevitable. But ultimately their desires and aspirations were bound to find fulfilment. One by one, the territories in Africa, in varying stages of social and political development, began to achieve freedom. In 1939, apart from the Union of South Africa, Liberia was the only African State which was completely independent. Since then many more have become independent. Nyasaland, now Malawi, has as recently as the 6th of July, acquired that status. Northern Rhodesia, under the name of Zambia, will join this group on 24th October. All freedom-loving nations will welcome the early completion of this process throughout the continent of Africa and in all other parts of the world.

The age of colonialism is over. It must now completely disappear. Its ramparts have fallen. Today subjugation of one nation by another is a political anachronism and a legal impossibility. Those who still cling to the outworn notions forget the natural and inevitable consequence of colonialism. In the words of Professor Organski, colonialism sows the seeds of its own destruction and no sooner is a colony conquered than its population begins to move slowly and imperceptibly at first, and then quickly and noticeably, towards political independence. Portugal and the Union of South Africa cannot stem the tide, and unless they see reason, may themselves be overwhelmed.

The history of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia may now be briefly narrated. To take up Nyasaland first. In the territories around the big Lake, which gave its name to the State, the evil of slave trade was rampant in the middle of the nineteenth century. For some time past enlightened opinion in the world had been fighting against this outrage on humanity. In 1815, the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna provided for the suppression of slave trade. In 1840 and in the following years, agreements were entered into for supplementing the Vienna decision. The British had taken a notable part in the suppression of slavery and slave trade. In

1859, Dr. Livingston reached the Lake Nyasa and was soon followed by the Universities Mission. Various missions were established in that region in the years 1875 and 1876. Livingston, who had discovered this area, hoped that his teachings would banish slavery and that the land would prove valuable for the white people. Various were the motives which impelled the British and other colonising nations to create empires. A spirit of adventure and a sense of mission to bring the Christian religion and the European way of life to non-Europeans were among them. Church missions had embarked on commercial enterprises also. The African Lakes Co. was an enterprise started by the Church of Scotland.

In 1891 by a Proclamation, Nyasaland was declared a Protectorate. In 1902 by an Order-in-Council, a Commissioner was appointed to administer the protectorate in the name and on behalf of Her Majesty, to make ordinances for the administration of justice, for the raising of revenue and generally for peace, order and good government. The Commissioner, however, was to exercise his powers in accordance with the general and special discretion of the British Government. In 1907 the office of High Commissioner was replaced by a Governor, an Executive Council and a Legislative Council. All the members of the Legislative Council, however, were to be appointed by the Governor. The authority of the British Government to legislate continued and it could disallow the laws made by the Council. An attempt was made through Royal Instructions to prevent discrimination against Africans. But the protection was qualified and did not conform to any definite standard which could be legally enforced. The so-called protection rested entirely with the discretion of the British Government.

The constitutional history of Northern Rhodesia followed a slightly different pattern. The British South Africa Co. was a commercial enterprise incorporated by Royal Charter on 29th October, 1889. One of its objects, however, was to undertake and carry on the government or administration of any territory in Africa. This Charter Company was functioning in Southern Rhodesia and in the course of time it extended its jurisdiction to Northern Rhodesia. It was not, however, by conquest but by treaty that the Charter Company began to operate in Northern Rhodesia. It entered into a number of treaties with tribal chiefs. They were, in form, treaties of alliance between a tribal nation and the British Crown. In fact, they conferred on the British Government certain administrative and protective functions and on the Company commercial concessions, reserving certain powers to the chiefs. Out of the many treaties entered into only one survived and that was with the Chief of Barotseland, which was the largest and the most populous area. This treaty was incorporated in legislation.

In 1911, Northern Rhodesia was accorded the status of a protectorate. The Order-in-Council of 1911 created a six-member council, whose function was to advise the protectorate administrator of the Charter Company. The members of the council were to be white settlers. In

1917, this council was constituted. The discretionary power of the administrator was, however, not affected and in urgent matters the Council's advice was also dispensed with. It is true that a provision was made in the Order of 1911 for the protection of African rights. But the relevant provision was hedged in by so many conditions that protection became illusory and the question of discrimination remained in the discretion of the High Commissioner.

In 1921 the Buxton Report on Constitutional Reform was issued and in accordance with its recommendations an agreement was executed between the British Government and the Charter Company by which the latter transferred its administrative authority to the Crown. This agreement was implemented through the Order-in-Council of 1924 issued under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act. In 1924, the British acquired full authority to legislate for the peace, order or good government of Northern Rhodesia. Provision was also made in this order for a Legislative Council which had the power to pass ordinances. The legislative authority which the British Government possessed was not only co-extensive with, but could also override, the authority of the Legislative Council. Provision was also made for an Executive Council, whose function was to advise the Government. All elected members were Europeans. Otherwise the members of the Executive Council and of the Legislative Council were nominated. The result was that every element of responsible government was non-existent. Subsequent orders introduced the participation of Africans and increased that of Europeans. In 1945 was passed the Northern Rhodesia (Constitution) Order-in-Council which revised the then existing constitution. The status of the protectorate of the Crown still remained, though there was a slow movement towards self-government.

Then came the ill-fated Federation of 1953, which was created by the British Government by uniting Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland with Southern Rhodesia. Africans, both in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, stoutly opposed it. The Conference of Federation was boycotted by Africans and it became an all-European affair. From all this emerged a powerful nationalist movement. It was obvious from the very beginning that this constitutional change, which had been imposed from above, was going to be a short-lived affair. The Federation resulted in the perpetuation of white supremacy and discrimination against Africans. The educational opportunities and political representation accorded to Africans were wholly inadequate. The proposed partnership in a multi-racial society was a myth; in practice white supremacy was maintained.

Dr. Hastings Banda and a large number of his followers were sent to prison after their bitter and continuous struggle for five years against the Federation. The British Government could not resist the pressure of the nationalist movement and came to terms with Dr. Banda. The Federation was dissolved in December, 1963. Malawi became an independent republic and has joined the Commonwealth. When Northern Rhodesia becomes independent on 24th October it will have a national constitution

which, to use the language of Mr. Duncan Sandys, "combines important features of both the British and the American constitutions."

The emergence of the independent states in Africa which join the Commonwealth is an accession of strength to that institution. Today out of its 18 members, 7 (including Malawi) are African states.

The myth of white supremacy has been completely exploded. One would say, with Mr. Sekou Toure, that there is no such thing as intellectual inequality among men, whatever their colour or race. If there is inequality, then it can result from economic conditions. It is not an inherent defect. It is the consequence of the low level of scientific, technological and financial development of countries.

Dr. Banda has said on more than one occasion that he would follow a policy of non-alignment. The intensity of his feeling against apartheid, which he shares with all the newly civilised nations of the world, is evident from the fact that the Union of South Africa was not invited to the independence celebrations of Malawi.

It is a happy sign that the former colonial power has extended a fair measure of assistance to Malawi, so has the United States. With the establishment of economic relations with other states, there can be no doubt that any problems of stability and change that may arise will be easily solved and that these new states will prosper and themselves contribute to the progress of mankind and the maintenance of world peace.

PROBLEMS OF SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

We give below a report of the Seminar on Problems of Socialist Transformation in Developing Countries organised by the Indian Council for Africa at Delhi University on January 18 and 19, 1964. More than 40 students from African and other Socialist countries studying in Delhi took part in the seminar. The subject was discussed in three parts: the Image of a Socialist Society, the Process and Problems of Socialist Transformation and the Role of the Emerging Leadership. The group discussions proceeded on the basis of a working paper. Given below are the text of the working paper, a summary of the speeches at the inaugural session and a summary of the discussions.

—Editor.

The Quest of The Seminar

WITH the liquidation of colonialism, peoples of most of the countries in the African-Asian land mass have won for themselves the right to determine their own destinies. They are now the masters and architects of their own fates.

The path to this freedom was not an easy one. Thousands of people shed their blood and sacrificed their lives cheerfully in the hope that, once colonial rule was banished, it would be possible for men to live with the dignity that behoved a human being. They sought for the freedom which a few denied to the many; they demanded the power and privilege which a few had monopolised; they demanded for common weal the prosperity of the land which, again, a few had amassed to the exclusion of those through whose labours it was created.

Today, the challenge, then, that faces the youth of the Afro-Asian countries is to create a society wherein the dreams our martyrs had cherished become a reality. The problem that confronts us in the Seminar is, therefore, threefold:

- (a) to sketch the picture of the society which spurred a great mass of people to heroic sacrifices;
- (b) to define the process of creating such a society; and finally,
- (c) to determine the role of the emerging leadership in that process.

Our Picture of Socialism

To begin with, let us briefly review how anti-colonial struggles took shape in the various countries of the Afro-Asian region and analyse the impulses that provided momentum to these struggles. It would also be necessary for us to discover what factors influenced the course of these struggles.

Generally speaking, although anti-colonial struggles began simultaneously with the advent of colonialism, their development as national struggles was a gradual process which evolved out of the impact of colonial rule. This impact varied from country to country partly because the pattern of imperialist exploitation differed in each country depending upon the needs of the colonial power and partly because of the differences in the nature of the rule that was imposed over the subject nations. In any event, profound changes occurred in the social structure of the colonies; the source of leadership in society gradually shifted to that element which would make no compromise on the question of freedom and which, at the same time, would instil confidence in the masses that no vested interest would monopolise state power once freedom was achieved. In most countries, therefore, political freedom was thus inextricably linked with the question of socialism.

In the meantime, simultaneously as these changes were taking place in the colonies, the vested interests in the 'home' countries began to confront a powerful upsurge from the masses. There was a growing demand not only for better living conditions but also for the use of the state power, not for the protection of vested interests but for the promotion of the interests of the masses. Out of this upsurge emerged a galaxy of humanitarian philosophers, social scientists, statesmen and political leaders whose thinking was to influence deeply the leadership that was growing up in the course of the anti-colonial movements. There were, for instance, Saint Simon, Fourier and the other Utopian socialists who inspired Marx and Engels to develop their theories of socialism. There was the great debate among Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, Edouard Bernstein and the other leaders in the socialist movement on what forms the socialist movement should take. There were, then, the Fabians and the Guild Socialists who developed their own theories on how socialist principles could be applied to build a socialist state.

Before we begin to consider the picture of socialist state suitable to the countries of the Afro-Asian region, let us consider all these different strains of thought that went into the making of the socialist movement and discover how they influenced each other. It would be necessary for us to bear in mind that the analysis of these thinkers was of societies vastly different from our own. What is relevant to us is the socialist values that these thinkers had evolved. It is up to us to apply these values in the context of contemporary conditions and in the light of the experience that we have acquired so far. It is, moreover, necessary to take note that the

structure of societies in Afro-Asian countries is different not only from western countries, where these theories originated, but also from each other. Essentially, let us consider socialism as:

- (a) a set of moral principles guiding social relations;
- (b) as scientific principles to build social institutions.

Having done so, let us also consider the impact of colonial rule so as to find out:

- (a) the changes in the structure of society that occurred in some of the Afro-Asian countries as a result of colonial rule;
- (b) the relevance of these changes to the problems of socialism.

Problems of Socialist Transformation

Before we proceed to consider the problem of socialist transformation let us first examine the demands of economic growth.

As we are aware, economic development depends on the maximum utilisation of the natural endowments of a country which are its natural resources and the availability of capital and labour. Planning for economic development is the method of assessing these various resources and securing the maximum rate of development.

It is obvious that plans will differ from country to country and region to region depending on the availability of various resources. In India, for instance, the availability of land in relation to population is low whereas in many of the African countries vast territories are available for exploitation by relatively smaller populations.

So far as capital is concerned, a common feature of all under-developed economies is the low rate of capital accumulation. Very often production is low because the instruments of production are inefficient or are outmoded and population growth is high. As a result the margin available for investment is low.

Under these circumstances economic development compels heavy sacrifices on the part of the population. Unless, therefore, income disparities are reduced and the distribution of national income is equitable the mass of people would not be willing to undergo the necessary sacrifices.

While these are some of the economic problems of under-development, we have to take into consideration the social and political issues that confront economic growth. These arise from the fact that most of the societies that are in the process of development have to overcome loyalties to region, tribe, caste or religion which often over-ride the demands of social development. Besides, older attitudes to work and to life generally need drastic revision if people are to adopt the new technology inherent in industrialisation. These attitudes often arise from religious beliefs, prejudices of a bygone age. Industrial development also leads to problems of urbanisation which have to be met. Finally, there is need for expansion in educational facilities and other welfare amenities not only to meet the demands of development but also to ensure equality of opportunity.

These, then, are some of the problems of socialist transformation to which thought needs to be given. To define these problems in precise terms let us review the experience of some of the Afro-Asian countries.

Tasks of Emerging Leadership

The identification of the problems of socialist transformation spells out the role of the emerging leadership. We now have to consider what its responsibilities are to ensure that the required leadership is forthcoming for new tasks that confront the nation.

It will help us to do so if we apply modern scientific research which has vastly improved our knowledge of society. This has provided us with a better understanding of the different forces that operate in society and of the nature of tension and conflict that arise in it. We must not ignore, either, to assess the impact of this knowledge in the shaping of various social institutions.

In most of the developing countries the problem that faces leadership is twofold in character; firstly, the state has to undertake to provide services essential to bring about social change; secondly, leadership is necessary to secure the utilisation of these services once they have been provided. This is where a cadre of popular leaders becomes essential.

We have to examine the implications of this demand on leadership which is primarily that of an educated elite. It is in this context that we need to discuss the steps that should be taken to develop the necessary awareness of the problems of socialism.

Inaugural Session

Inaugurating the seminar, Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University, said: "We are at a very interesting stage of world history—a thought which I have expressed in my foreword to the reprint of the lectures delivered recently by His Excellency Mr. Chester Bowles, the Ambassador in India for U.S.A.

"Surprising, as it may seem, it is hardly 15 years ago that mankind seems to have realised that there is such a thing as human solidarity and such a thing as common human interest. This feeling is as much due to the terrible wars that were fought in the first half of this century as to the long-term effects of the extraordinary advance in Science and Technology that has taken place in this world of ours during the last 300 years and 300 years is only a flash of time in the eternity which is represented by the origin of the world in which we live.

"One result of this advance in Science and Technology has been that distances in space and in spirit have been abridged beyond our wildest dreams and it is no longer possible for sections of humanity to live in segregation or isolation.

"Another result has been that the way seems to be open now to fruitful

cooperation to implement any plans that we may have to put into practice this feeling of human solidarity. In other words, these plans need not remain as dreams any longer, but can be translated into concrete and material terms with the increasing assistance that is made available by Science and Technology.

"It is as a result of these factors, and it was in the nature of things, that it is this era which should see the end of colonialism; and so rapid has been the pace of extinction of this deleterious factor in human affairs that hardly had one country attained its freedom, than it was followed by a very large number of others, so that today the United Nations has probably a majority of nations which have attained their independence within the last 15 or 20 years. And indeed, judging from the figures that were given out on the radio last evening, the number of African members of the United Nations forms the largest single bloc in the United Nations today.

"It is, therefore, only fit and proper, apart from the very special relations that have existed between India and Africa, that we should organise this third Seminar on this subject.

"The topic is a very interesting one and, I think, has been properly divided, that is to say, the aims and purposes or the general concept; the processes and problems, that is to say, the ways in which these ideals can be translated into practice; and the role of emerging leadership, i.e., the precise means through which this transformation is to be brought about.

"At first sight, it would look somewhat extraordinary that there should be no direct reference to economic development in the title of the topic that has been selected for the Seminar although, I imagine, that it is subsumed in the words 'developing countries'. But I do believe that this represents an evolution in the thinking on this subject. There was a time after the attainment of independence when countries went straight for the goal of economic development, and I believe, that there was some kind of idea that economic development is primarily a matter of capital, investment, inputs, outputs, Science and Technology. Gradually and only as a result of painful experience, it has been realised that economic development is not possible unless the social framework of it is appropriate. In many of the appraisals and reappraisals that have taken place in various countries, including India, as among the foremost who have tried planning, one realisation is firm in our minds. That is that unless the social environment is suitably altered, including not only the institutions but also the motivations and the attitudes of the people who form any particular nation, one cannot hope to go very far in the process of economic development, no matter what assistance may be received from the friendly nations. In other words, a stage has been reached where the readiness of these other nations to advance aid and assistance has been assured; but because of the lack of an appropriate framework of quality or administration or social environment, it is now realised that the capacity to absorb foreign assistance remains strictly limited. This explains why the emphasis has

gradually shifted from economic development to social reorientation and its various substitutes. Indeed a stage has been reached where the economist has almost been elbowed out of this process of economic development. There are sociologists and political scientists and psychologists who are telling him that he comes a little later and that he should not come in the way, and that the basic situation has first to be analysed by properly trained and experienced sociologists and political scientists.

"Next, we come to this phrase 'the socialist transformation of developing countries' and, at first sight, it would look as if we are acting on some preconceived notions. It would look as if we are all sworn socialists and that we have decided, therefore, to exclude any other considerations or any other ideologies; but it seems to me that as soon as you postulate a developing country, you are bound to postulate some kind of socialistic order; and the poorer you are and the less developed you are, the more socialist you are bound to be, no matter what your views in general may be on the place of non-socialist systems.

"And, indeed, I would go so far as to say that the end of colonialism is the signal for the initiation of socialism; because colonialism is the signal for the initiation of socialism; because colonialism in international terms expressed a kind of *laissez-faire*, where might was right, and a kind of organised exploitation prevailed. So translating all this to the comity of nations instead of communities, you find that colonialism was a kind of free enterprise; and since that free enterprise has now been terminated in our countries and we are now seeking to make our independence fruitful and meaningful, we are bound to accept the general notions that underly a socialist society. And what exactly is a socialist society? It is a society in which there is a balance between the relations of the individuals and the society in which he lives, and in which general progress can only be achieved to the maximum extent with the sense of involvement and commitment of the individual. In order to gain this sense of involvement and commitment, including a capacity to sacrifice, there must be some visible symbol of parity or equality, if not equality or capacity, because that is due to nature, but certainly equality of opportunity, as equal divisions as one can make in the fruits of the combined toils and labours of everyone concerned.

"Therefore, I have, in my mind, no doubt that whatever weight one may attach to incentives and systems that would encourage individuals, the basic structure of every poor society which wishes to develop must be socialist, and therefore, I do not think that there is any invalid assumption under the title of this Seminar, namely, 'the socialist transformation in developing countries'.

"The next question is why transformation? Now, the problem that we are trying to deal with is not only that of poverty because that is only a superficial thing. But the problem is also how to modernise a society which because of historical and other reasons has evolved values of culture which, in many ways, do not seem to be consistent with the processes of

modernisation and industrialisation; and here, I do not think, we should be under any illusion as to what kind of modernisation we mean; because of historical accidents, if you like, it is the European nations and Oceanic nations who have gone forward, perhaps a 100 years, perhaps a little more, in their processes of material development and industrialisation and modernisation. In other words, their cultures have been profoundly affected by these processes and it is these cultures to which our cultures are bound to be exposed before we can hope to emulate their example. Having said this, it is not necessary to postulate that in that case everything that we have in the way of cultural goods has to be thrown overboard. I am a firm believer in what one calls the genius of a society, or the ethos of a society, or its transmitted and tested cultural values. And all of our societies would have to look very carefully at the new cultural values that are held out before us, when we decide what out of those values we should accept, and in which particular case, or for what secular period, at any rate, we should try to build the superstructure of our economic development on our own cultural values that have been handed over. I am quite sure that we shall find some of them will have to be modified and some of them will have to be preserved for a little while; for example, in India, the idea of family and even an extended family. Certainly, one would agree that in India, caste has to be given up; or in Africa, the tribe may have to be given up, as a basis of the actions of a particular community. But inside the caste or inside the tribe, there may be a unit such as a family and for many years, perhaps till some other more satisfactory, demonstrably satisfactory, order is evolved, we should have to maintain very carefully this system of family and respect all the social values that go with it. So it is this differentiation in the general structure and it is this differentiation in the concrete processes of economic development that have to be very carefully studied. Now, this is in regard to the social milieu.

"In regard to the political milieu also, in the beginning, in our new fervour, we thought that a Parliamentary System, what is called Parliamentary Western Democratic System, based on the two-party system, was the ideal solution so far as the politics was concerned. But, experience has already proved that that does not seem to be workable in all the countries of the South and South-East Asia. One does not have a sufficiently long experience of the African countries, but one can certainly say that it does not seem to have worked in Asia. One obvious reason, of course, is that some of the basic assumptions of this system are not fulfilled in our society, as for instance, literacy and all that goes with it. The awareness of the elector of passing events and his capacity to form judgements will enable him to make right choices in sending representatives who will manage his affairs for him till it is time for him to announce his verdict at every periodical election. That basic assumption is not fulfilled here. Then, of course, together with this come many other things, for instance, the people who have the necessary qualities of leadership, that is to say,

the experience of the management of men and affairs, and how one can expect ex-colonial countries to have a large enough field of these elite. That is a thing that has gradually to be built up and it has often to be built up through bitter experience, and even in a country like India, where this form of democracy seems to have been operated, I should say, with reasonable success, we have yet to go through the inevitable processes of the evolution of democracy. For instance, in the beginning, we were fortunate enough to have at the head of the Government well-respected and very distinguished citizens, who had taken part in the freedom struggle, who had thrown away many a distinguished career and who had the necessary capacity to manage men and affairs; and one or two of them are luckily still with us. But gradually the experience of the franchise has already brought a new leadership into being and this is, as it should be, but that leadership does not come from a class which has a sufficiently long experience, shall we say, of the management of men and affairs, because these things are all new.

"Nevertheless, we have gone forward to extend our devolution, political devolution and delegation of power—possibly, we have taken risks, and I have no doubt, we shall be making mistakes, but we do have, I think, firmly implanted in our minds this ideal of building up democracy right from its roots.

"There are many precautions that have to be taken. For instance, if one were philosophic enough, one would say that all this should have been foreseen, and that people should have been asked to carry burdens which, when judged, they were capable of carrying. In other words, to give a very concrete example, if the Panchayats which were perhaps spending not more than Rs. 1 lac a year are asked to handle some Rs. one crore a year, then obviously, we are taking some risks. This is the same kind of risk that one runs in a family when one asks a child to do hard work which is only fit for an adult. I mean the head of the family would be very wrong if he were to ask his child of 12 or 14 to carry the same kind of load that adults could carry. Therefore, this is a matter of regulating the load according to the judged capacity. But in public matters that is not always possible.

"In any case, I should imagine that one should not waste too much time on what kind of socialism to operate. This is one of the confusing phenomena of the present-day world that as the history of socialism grows from the dim distance days, 100 years ago, when it was talked of and written about and so on, we have passed through half a dozen phases of socialism. And today the world is sharply divided as to what exactly is socialism and what it is not. There is, for instance, the socialism of the totalitarian countries which denies the utility of a two-party system and starts with certain basic fixed fundamental principles, and there is the other kind of socialism in which there is scope for expression of views, a free judgement by the citizen, no matter how well or ill educated he may be, and a gradual reorientation of the actions of those who are in power.

Then also there is, perhaps, some disappointment that in some parts of Asia, there seems to have been a kind of retrograde movement in that democracy which was originally started and has now been transformed into whatever name might be given to it—guided or basic democracy.

“Well, I should say that in the light of our present knowledge and study, one need not be too dogmatic as to how right one is as compared to the other; and each nation, in any case, will judge what is best for it and its own circumstances. Perhaps, the farthest that one can go is that if that is the logic of events then for every form or every deficiency in form, you will have to pay. In other words, if you have guided democracy, may be that you pay a price. Even in India, probably, one should be free to admit that we are paying a price for running a sort of democracy which we feel preserves the basic values that we have or that our society has. In any case, our constitution is a kind of quasi-federal constitution. There is no total or global planning. The actual implementation has to be done through autonomous or semi-autonomous units and local bodies to whom certain powers have been delegated; and therefore, there is a certain loss of power, in the dispersal of this implementation machinery; but that is a sacrifice which, I think, we should have to make in order to preserve certain basic values.

“It is these kinds of considerations that one has to bear in mind in dealing with the series of problems that the Seminar will be discussing and that is why, I think, the Seminar includes people who represent the totalitarian or authoritarian kind of socialism, who represent the guided or basic democracy, shall we say, and who represent a sort of state socialism, although not a very successful one so far. And I should say that whatever that may be, there are certain problems which are common to all and those problems are essentially subsumed in the word ‘transformation’, that is to say, here is a state of affairs in which certain factors have to be consciously altered and changed and unless you set about changing them now, all your dreams about economic development are likely to be frustrated or prove unreal.

“I see that there are a very large number of thoughtful papers on all three aspects of the topic that has been set before you and you have very good guidance for the conduct of your proceedings in the sub-groups, and it is my hope that after the two days over which this Seminar will last are over, all of us will go back with clearer notions of what exactly all our communities or societies have to do and what is the part that an individual has to play in order to make the plans of each nation as successful as they could be made; and since this is an educational audience, I should like to end on this note that whatever one does one would come to the conclusion that a proper development of the individual by means of the education process by which his intellectual, his spiritual and other powers, his power to think in advance are fully developed, is of great importance. All these powers will be needed; and therefore, in the forefront of all the steps that one would have to take, each within one’s own nation, this process

of education will have to receive the maximum thought and will have to have the maximum allocation that is practicable out of the resources of each developing nation."

In his welcoming speech, Mr K. C. Pant, General Secretary of the Council, said that to every newly independent country freedom had brought with it the uphill task of national reconstruction. The economy, bled white by the former rulers, had to be resuscitated. A new social order, more in tune with the aspirations of the people and the needs of modern times, had to be created. Privilege had to be replaced by talent, and the fruits of freedom had to be distributed justly among all citizens. Even as these objectives were broadly common, so were the basic problems confronting developing countries—poverty, disease, ignorance and superstition, and, above all, lack of trained and skilled personnel.

He pointed out that the essential purpose of the seminar was to discover the common denominator among the countries engaged in the task of national reconstruction.

Speaking on the occasion, Dr. S. N. Varma, Head of the Department of African Studies, Delhi University, said that the problem before developing countries was not so much to accept established forms and varieties of socialism, as to adjust those forms and varieties suitably to the needs of each developing community.

Answering the question "Why Socialism?" Dr Varma said socialism was inevitable in the context of the situation that had emerged in most developing countries which had passed through the stage of colonial rule; and the most important reason, therefore, for a socialist transformation or establishment of some kind of socialist approach was to eradicate the colonial economy and the resultant poverty. "I would like to add there is also the necessity which is being felt in most developing countries as the desire to catch up with the developed countries in economic and technological advance."

Dr Varma continued: "It is also important now for these developing countries to feel that they enjoy the same kind of prestige in the international world. This also demands a kind of necessity and an urge on their part that they must catch up with the progress with which they have been confronted ever since their colonial rule has come to an end.

"Naturally, the question which would probably arise before the discussions in the Seminar is what kind of socialism they would plan for their countries. Of course, the answer would not be uniform; because I have said, it is essential that each country would have to adopt a particular type of socialist transformation in keeping with its own cultural traditions and values. But at the same time, it may be possible to draw certain broad lines along which we might hope the transformation is likely to result. One thing that we find, in most cases, in the policy statements, in also the kind of economic plans that are being put forward in developing countries, is that it is not necessarily based on what has been called the usual socialistic pattern as we find in the communist countries or in

Soviet Russia. In fact, from the policy statements one finds that there has been almost a denial of this attempt although in some of the Western countries, it has been felt that some of these newly emerged independent countries are moving in that direction—perhaps, that should be made clear that they are not going in one or the other direction—they are really trying to adjust themselves to the required conditions and needs.

“In fact, it is also not what used to be the 19th century concept of a welfare state. In any case, the welfare state idea which is to give the impression of doing or leading more to the individual than to the state is not in keeping with modern trends and conditions.

“If I may say anything, I perhaps would say this that today there is a greater need for state-controlled national plans though it may allow some initiative to be left to private enterprise, or private initiative. We are facing a situation where rapid progress is not possible by leaving things in the hands of private individuals or private enterprise.

“In the case of African countries particularly, we find that this is being urgently felt. This is being felt and is being expressed also in what has become now the common political pattern, and that is to make governments as far as possible strong to be able to take decisions and implement those decisions. This has taken the form, in most cases, of what are known as one-party-systems. I do not know whether it is, at this stage, appropriate for us to say that one-party-states are essentially leading in the direction of authoritarianism, although this has been one of the criticisms which one hears about one-party-systems. However, it seems to me that there is an inevitability in the process. One may hope that ultimately, as the Vice-Chancellor has very rightly pointed out, there would emerge a democratic tradition which will take care of the necessary freedom of the people, and it would not be submerged under any kind of authoritarianism that might be in process in this transitional stage. But a one-party state certainly provides, what we might call, a securer mechanism for the purpose of implementing decisions. Only one-party-systems are not allowed sufficient amount of, what you may say, authority as to flout individual expression or opinion. It may seem to be not only an inevitable development of the present situation, but may also appear to be a compromise between, what I may say, authoritarianism and the western type of democracy for which most of these countries are not adequately prepared.

“There is another aspect to which one would like to make a reference here, and that is, we cannot think in terms of socialism of the communist variety in the context of these developing countries, because that envisages a kind of capital formation or capital development. At the present moment, in most of these countries, we find capital is not available, and in fact foreign capital is being encouraged to be brought in for the economic development of these countries. That also means that there is no development of a capitalist class yet in most of these countries; and to the extent, therefore, that there is no development of a capitalist.

class in most of these countries, one is inclined to the view that the dangers of a class struggle are not yet apparent in most of these countries.

"In fact, there are no classes, as one would like to put it. There may have been some kind of class system as is being mentioned by certain observers which relates to agriculture; but beyond that stage, we do not find what is known as a modern industrial class-pattern or class system. From that point of view, it would seem to me that there is no longer the danger, as might have been envisaged or felt in certain quarters, of what is called a class-struggle or a class-conflict in the coming future."

Plenary Session

In his introductory remarks, the Chairman of the Seminar, Dr J. P. Bhattacharjee, said: "In initiating the discussion, I would make my remarks as brief as possible. There is also another compelling reason for this. In the year 1964, it is rather difficult to be very original about any pronouncements on socialism. When we look back on the 19th century, we see far more of a concern with socialist ideals. There was a genuine ferment among the intellectuals and the leaders of middle and the working classes in those days. Out of these emerged the image and ethos of a socialist society which is the topic of discussion for the first group.

"The 20th century has seen more of action in the realization of socialist ideals than of the development of pure socialist thought. The emergence of Soviet Russia has been the most historical event in the first half of the 20th century. But the world seems now to have settled down to an acceptance of this fact; sometimes it is almost taken for granted. This is so, probably because of the rapid and dynamic developments since the end of the Second World War. Over these 17 or 18 years, the political geography of the world has undergone a revolutionary transformation; and the under-developed or developing nations have emerged with all their impact on the economics and politics of the world. With the aspiration for nationhood and freedom realised, the stage came for these peoples to translate their socialist ideal and image into policies, programmes and actions of the Government. Reality came as a shock in some cases. It has its own logic which often forced a cruel adjustment in the philosophical lines of thinking. This process is now in operation. The image, if I may say so, has been undergoing change and transformation, not all of which are in the same direction or of the same order. The real politik and prospects in different countries have been determining the steps and directing the line and speed of march.

"Many of the important concepts are undergoing stress and testing—freedom, justice, liberty and equality. Broadly speaking, there are two areas in which transformation and adjustment are sought to be worked out. On the one hand, there is the relationship between the State and the individual, as far as fundamental rights of citizens are concerned.

On the other, there is the network of relationships between individuals and groups on one side, and the government and administration, on the other. The questions that are coming up, time and again, are the inter-relationships of government with parties and individuals and the role of the State in ensuring the social and economic rights and duties of the individual.

"It seems to me that the discussion, the debate and the controversy in the world to-day do not relate so much to the image of socialism as to the process of transformation of society into the mould of this image. Rightly, therefore, two discussion groups will be tackling two separate parts of this process.

"Of particular importance to the process of transformation are not only the ethos of socialism but also the scientific principles for its application and practice. The most common of these principles are defined in terms of the leading role of the State in expanding the production base of the economy and securing distributive justice among groups and individuals. One may, however, wonder if this is enough. To make my point clear, even economists with capitalistic inclinations would agree that the Government would have to play a dominant role in planning and developing resources, providing infra-structure and guiding the growth of investment in underdeveloped countries. It seems that up to a certain point the basic requirements for the rapid growth of a developing country in an open international framework are not divergent from those of a socialist economy. But the two will not always harmonize. When and at what stage do these two paths differ? Is it at the stage of take-off, later or earlier? Another question: what should be the relative magnitude of the national or socialist sector in the output of a country that claims to call itself socialist? All these are issues to which scientific answers are needed and, I hope, will be provided at this seminar.

"A socialist society is expected to have special features not only in ethos and economics but also in culture and social relations. Only one aspect of this vast field is scheduled for discussion in the third group on the "Role of Leadership". Leadership is, of course, the most important vehicle of change and transformation. But I hope that when we discuss leadership, we shall talk not merely in terms of the personality traits or idealised characters of the leaders, but also, and more largely, in terms of the functions of leadership, and the formation of interests and groups within the known setting of institutional and social structure. Of particular relevance is a clarification of the meaning and role of the 'class' in social transformation.

"Lastly, our discussion will be realistic only to the extent we relate it to the background of international relations. It is not possible for the developing societies to move perceptively towards socialism by shutting its doors and closing its contacts with the rest of the world. The world has changed considerably; and to this change the socialist countries have made significant contributions. Nevertheless, we should not close our

eyes to the fact that advanced capitalist societies have adopted many egalitarian values. Social security has come to stay. Capitalism in 1964 is very different from that of the 19th century, with which the leaders of the socialist thought had then been fighting."

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS

1. Image of a Socialist Society: The problem before this group was rather a diffused one as the definitions of a socialist society are still varied and no consensus as to the essential elements characterising a socialist society has still emerged. A number of socialist societies were therefore discussed with a view to evolving an image relevant to the overall subject matter of the seminar. The discussion mainly centred round the relevance of the Marxist or scientific socialism, the Yugoslav experiment and other varieties tried in the developing countries. This classification was neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive and only a broad image of socialist society emerged out of the discussion. The Indian variety of socialism, for instance, defied categorisation. The African socialism was also claimed to be unique.

An interesting debate developed round the point whether socialism was essentially humanism and nothing more. There was general agreement that socialism was a system of values promising a better life to all and as such was something more than just an economic and a political system. The characteristics differentiating socialism from humanism were not identified.

Another interesting point debated was whether democracy was essential for socialism. There was general agreement that there could be no socialism without democracy; but there were differences on what constituted the essence of democracy. It was contended that democracy was compatible with a one-party system of Government. The other view was that the right to dissent as embodied in a multi-party system was the test of democracy. No consensus could emerge on this issue. Only a broad characterisation of democracy was possible.

Thus, the relevant elements in the image of a socialist society were identified and debated but a precise formulation could not be achieved as the consensus arrived at was too broad for the purpose.

2. Process and Problems of Socialist Transformation : The work of this group continuously strayed into the field of Group I, namely, "The image of a Socialist Society" and of Group III, namely, "The Role of Emergent Leadership. It was found, for instance, that the process and the problems of creating a socialist society were determined by the image of socialism that was held. Again, whenever the participants sought to be specific about the process, they continuously found themselves discussing the nature of the emergent

leadership. Nevertheless this discussion tended to bring up many matters upon which the participants were later in a more definite position to take a stand.

The issues raised by the Chairman were based on a somewhat conventional image of socialism. This meant a society characterised by public ownership or at least public control of the strategic means of production and distribution. Opposite to this point of view was the desire to get away from a 'doctrinaire' definition of socialism. In this view, socialism was to be seen as a politico-economic system in which the state was an active agent and which tried to reduce income inequalities and ensure a basic minimum of welfare for all.

In relation to the broad categories of problems to which the socialist transformation might have to find solutions, a number of ideas developed. Thus, it was considered whether a traditional structure such as the tribal or the local village community could become a basis of direct transition to socialism without bringing about the highly individualistic or capitalistic phase through which western society had to pass and which had so far been considered a necessary intermediary stage towards socialism. Similarly, it was pointed out that the economic development, which possibly would have to provide the basis of socialist transformation, might have to take a course which ignored the traditional skills of artisans, craftsmen and agriculturists. Could socialist transformation be so arranged that these skills were geared into the modern economic system of socialism instead of being bypassed and destroyed? It was seen that the need for capital formation, which might lead to industrialisation later, was counterposed to the need for broadening the base of distribution and raising the level of consumption. Did this mean that the transition to socialism must necessarily involve a political system which did not permit the demands for consumption to be effective? Or could demands for consumption be prevented from lowering capital formation by other means? A further point which arose was that the under-developed countries needed to minimise their dependence upon the more developed countries for capital and technical know-how. So, they might have to develop much more cooperation between themselves. For, it was seen that international economic relationships had tended to remain unequal and unfavourable, even during the past 15 years. The amount of assistance from developed countries to under-developed countries had been more than offset by the losses of these (latter) countries either by way of a rise in the prices of industrial goods sold by the developed countries or by the fall of commodity prices. In terms of technical skills and manpower, too, it was seen that the number of scientists and technologists from under-developed countries working in the developed countries exceeded the number of technicians coming into under-developed countries by way of assistance. It was noticed that possibly the quality of the export of manpower from under-developed countries

to developed countries was higher than that of the flow in the reverse direction. Thus, the picture was not one of aid and assistance, but one of an increasingly and growingly unfavourable relationship. Presumably, the acuteness of this situation could be reduced by a complementary relationship between the under-developed countries so far as possible.

Having pointed out these issues, however, the group saw that they were inherent in the nature of under-developed countries, even if they did not seek to develop along the lines of socialism. On the second day, the group gave its attention to four major topics :

- i. revolution as the means of socialist transformation;
- ii. the nature of the public sector;
- iii. agricultural reorganisation ; and
- iv. the kind of individual required for socialist transformation.

It was suggested that revolution might be more suitable for bringing about a change in under-developed countries. A contrary view, however, was that as a revolutionary situation did not exist generally in these countries, a peaceful transformation by shifting the balance of forces in the socialist direction might be a feasible and desirable proposition.

It was widely felt that the public sector was an essential factor in the process of socialist transformation. The views however differed on whether the public sector should gradually assimilate the private sector or should co-exist with the private sector.

A lively discussion followed on the management and organizational problems of public enterprises. Some suggested that competition might be allowed among public enterprises in order to ensure efficiency. Another view was that as competition involved waste some kind of workers' share in the profit of the enterprises might be enough to ensure efficiency. Workers' councils should be allowed to function side by side with the management so as to function as a kind of check on the development of bureaucracy.

Agricultural reforms in the direction of distributing land to the tillers was considered necessary for creating a socialist society. Any kind of initial difficulties which might arise as a result of redistribution, it was suggested, should be met with the help of co-operative institutions. Big landlords might be prevented from joining co-operatives, in order to ensure that the resources went to the genuine tillers.

Lastly, the participants discussed the kind of individual that a socialist transformation might require. A pertinent point which emerged was that differences in social environments did not necessarily produce different types of individuals. There was another opinion which emphasized that since the personality did not change very much from place to place, one could not put much emphasis on this aspect.

In spite of the difficulty which might come in the way of creating an ideal person for socialist transformation it was generally agreed that the latter required an elite class consistently organised for completing the task of socialist transformation.

3. The Role of Emerging Leadership: The structure of leadership shows considerable variation in the different developing societies and it has also been undergoing a good deal of change. One has to take into account the experiences of the different societies in this regard in examining the kinds of leadership which are in the process of emergence.

An important consideration is the social character of the leadership, i.e., its composition in terms of class, occupation, education and rural-urban differential. How narrow or broad is the social base from which leaders in the different developing societies are recruited? What is the range of interests represented by them? To what extent is there a circulation of personnel within the structure of leadership? These are some of the questions to which the group initially addressed itself.

The question of the identification of the leadership with national interests was discussed at some length. It was agreed that there is no fool-proof mechanism to ensure this identification. One has to make a difference in this regard between the pre-colonial and post-colonial phases of development. A leadership which had identified itself with national interests during colonial rule might later lose sight of such interests which were highly dynamic in nature. Interests which are submerged during the nationalist struggle come to the surface with the end of colonial rule, and new interests are also generated.

The revolutionary character of a given leadership cannot be taken for granted. Institutional checks have to be devised in order to ensure that the control of the existing leadership over the social system does not harden. This may be achieved by having a multi-party system. But even within a one-party system the leadership may be sufficiently broadbased to ensure the expression of divergent points of view.

In the developing countries the socialist leadership tends initially to be centralised and top-heavy. It is often composed of a small minority of educated people with a high degree of political consciousness. A major task of this leadership is to bring about a transmission of socialist ideas and values through the different reaches of society. Leaders with socialist values have to develop at every level, including the district and village levels. The diffusion of socialist ideas and values may be achieved by providing benefits to the people, for example, giving land to the landless. In addition to such concrete and material benefits the masses should be provided with fuller opportunities for initiating and executing important decisions. The possibilities of Panchayati Raj and similar structures in the U.A.R. were discussed,

A broad-based leadership structure is likely to provide a more effective political articulation between the masses and the national leadership. It also ensures resilience and flexibility by providing scope for increased circulation of the personnel of leadership. Finally, it is only through the creation of such a structure of leadership that a sense of commitment can be developed among the people.

Functional groups such as the army, the trade unions and peasant organisations are important sources for the supply of leadership. In the U.A.R., for instance, the army has played a prominent part in bringing about changes in the leadership structure. In many developing societies the army, with its rational bureaucratic organisation, provides a useful training ground for a modernising leadership. The danger of a military leadership acquiring a monolithic character has, of course, to be guarded against.

In addition to functional groups, various community associations based on religion, caste or language also provide raw materials for leadership. Sectional interests are often represented by powerful leaders in many traditional societies. Their existence cannot simply be wished away. On the contrary, they often play an important role in articulating the people with wider political structures. It may be possible to mobilise the support of some of these leaders towards the achievement of broader national goals. It cannot be argued *prima facie* that sectional and national interests will always be in conflict.

QUARTERLY CHRONICLE

Tanganyika-Zanzibar Union

THE merger of Tanganyika and Zanzibar into one single sovereign State on April 28 is a triumph for the African faith in non-alignment. China appeared to get its first foothold in Africa in Zanzibar and must now be disconcerted. But any Western belief that the merger will wean Zanzibar away from Communist tendencies might be wishful thinking. A more considered assessment is not possible until the situation is stabilized and reveals which is the more dominant partner in the union.

A reassuring consequence of the merger could be a new spirit of inter-racial amity in Zanzibar. President Nyerere's declaration about respecting the rights of settlers who have opted for Tanganyikan citizenship was a courageous step in the face of African impatience about Africanization of the services. In Zanzibar after the revolution Asians in the country have been particularly victimized by plundering gangs. With President Nyerere as the head of the new State the restoration of law and order can be counted on to give relief.

The merger move, which came as a surprise to Kenya and Uganda, may not hasten the proposed East African Federation. At the April talks to resolve Tanganyika's threat of withdrawing from the East African common market Kenya and Uganda were content with merely reaffirming the federal idea.

The dramatic announcement of the merger was made by President Nyerere in Dar-es-Salaam on April 23 following his visit to Zanzibar on April 22. The talks with President Abeid Karume were held at a time when his Peking-oriented Foreign Minister, Abdul Rahman Mohammad "Babu", was away to Jakarta. The circumstances in which the merger took place suggest that it was designed by President Karume to prevent the control of the Revolutionary Council from going completely into the hands of "Babu". President Nyerere responded to the move because President Karume's Afro-Shirazi Party had always had the support of the Tanganyikan African National Union.

We give below the text of the Articles of Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar signed on April 22 :

WHEREAS the Governments of the Republic of Tanganyika and of the People's Republic of Zanzibar, being mindful of the long association of the peoples of these lands and of their ties of kinship and amity, and being desirous of furthering that association and strengthening of these ties and of furthering the unity of African peoples, have met and

considered the union of the Republic of Tanganyika with the People's Republic of Zanzibar:

AND WHEREAS the Governments of the Republic of Tanganyika and of the People's Republic of Zanzibar are one Sovereign Republic in accordance with the Articles hereinafter contained:

It is therefore AGREED between the Governments of the Republic of Tanganyika and of the People's Republic of Zanzibar as follows:—

- (i) The Republic of Tanganyika and the People's Republic of Zanzibar shall be united in one Sovereign Republic.
- (ii) During the period from the commencement of the union until the Constituent Assembly provided for in Article (vii) shall have met and adopted a Constitution for the United Republic (hereinafter referred to as the interim period) the United Republic shall be governed in accordance with the provisions of Articles (iii) to (vi).
- (iii) During the interim period the Constitution of the United Republic shall be the Constitution of Tanganyika so modified as to provide for
 - (a) a separate legislature and executive in and for Zanzibar from time to time constituted in accordance with the existing law of Zanzibar and having exclusive authority within Zanzibar for matters other than those reserved to the Parliament and Executive of the United Republic;
 - (b) the offices of two Vice-Presidents, one of whom (being a person normally resident in Zanzibar) shall be the head of the aforesaid executive in and for Zanzibar and shall be the principal assistant of the President of the United Republic in the discharge of his executive functions in relation to Zanzibar;
 - (c) the representation of Zanzibar in the Parliament of the United Republic;
 - (d) such other matters as may be expedient or desirable to give effect to the United Republic and to these Articles.
- (iv) There shall be reserved to the Parliament and Executive of the United Republic the following matters—
 - (a) The Constitution and Government of the United Republic.
 - (b) External Affairs.
 - (c) Defence.
 - (d) Police.
 - (e) Emergency Powers.
 - (f) Citizenship.
 - (g) Immigration.
 - (h) External Trade and Borrowing.
 - (i) The Public Service of the United Republic.
 - (j) Income Tax, Corporation Tax, Customs and Excise.
 - (k) Harbours, Civil Aviation, Posts and Telegraphs.

And the said Parliament and Executive shall have exclusive authority in such matters throughout and for the purposes of the United Republic

•

and in addition exclusive authority in respect of all other matters in and for Tanganyika.

- (v) The existing laws of Tanganyika and of Zanzibar shall remain in force in their respective territories subject—
 - (a) to any provision made hereafter by a competent legislature;
 - (b) to such provision as may be made by order of the President of the United Republic for the extension to Zanzibar of any law relating to any of the matters set out in Article (iv), and the revocation of any corresponding law of Zanzibar;
 - (c) to such amendments as may be expedient or desirable to give effect to the union and to these Articles.
- (vi) (a) The first President of the United Republic shall be Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere and he shall carry on the Government of the United Republic in accordance with the provisions of these Articles and with the assistance of the Vice-Presidents aforesaid and of such other ministers and officers as he may appoint from Tanganyika and Zanzibar and their respective public services.
- (b) The first Vice-President from Zanzibar to be appointed in accordance with the modifications provided for in Article (iii) shall be Sheikh Abeid Karume.
- (vii) The President of the United Republic in agreement with the Vice-President who is head of the Executive in Zanzibar shall—
 - (a) Appoint a Commission to make proposals for a Constitution for the United Republic.
 - (b) Summon a Constituent Assembly composed of Representatives from Tanganyika and from Zanzibar in such numbers as they may determine to meet within one year of commencement of the union for the purpose of considering the proposals of the Commission aforesaid and to adopt a Constitution for the United Republic.
- (viii) These Articles shall be subject to the enactment of laws by the Parliament of Tanganyika and by the Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Zanzibar in conjunction with the Cabinet of Ministers thereof, ratifying the same and providing for the Government of the United Republic and of Zanzibar in accordance therewith.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF Julius K. Nyerere, the President of the Republic of Tanganyika, and Abeid Karume, the President of the People's Republic of Zanzibar, have signed these Articles, in duplicate, at Zanzibar, on this twenty-second day of April, 1964.

Sanctions against South Africa

The question of economic sanctions against South Africa has been postponed until next March by the United Nations Security Council.

By then a committee of experts is to report on what further measures the UN might take to curb apartheid. The Security Council resolution has been drawn up as a consensus of opinion in the Council in view of the US and British resistance to sanctions. Britain and the US have piously decried apartheid but as they have no alternative to sanctions to curb apartheid their endorsement of the proposed UN committee amounts to a calculated move to shelve an inconvenient issue.

A fresh study of the economics of sanctions would appear to be superfluous after the findings of the International Conference Against Apartheid at London in April. The London conference had stressed that without Britain and the US sanctions against South Africa would be a failure. It came to the conclusion that, in the present circumstances, no lead in applying sanctions could come from Britain and that this must be sought from the US. The conference recommended a number of steps to achieve support for a programme of internationally applied sanctions. The delegates felt that if the US could be persuaded to apply sanctions Britain would fall in line.

The conference, which opened on April 14, was attended by about 250 delegates and observers from nearly 40 countries. It was called upon to examine the strategic, political, economic and legal aspects of sanctions and draft proposals for a workable plan of action for consideration by the UN.

Mr. Harold Wilson, leader of the British Labour Party, in a message to Mr. Mongi Slim, Tunisian Foreign Minister who presided over the conference, pledged that a Labour Government in Britain would carry out the Security Council's call for an embargo on arms and equipment for South Africa. But he reiterated that the Labour Party had never supported the unilateral application of sanctions. He said sanctions which hit at the people of South Africa without influencing the Government would be futile.

On the opening day of the conference, Mr. Diallo Telli of Guinea, Chairman of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid, said economic sanctions were the last weapon for a peaceful solution of the constantly deteriorating situation in South Africa. Mr. Ronald Segal, convener of the conference, read out a paper submitted by the Danish Foreign Minister, Mr. Per Hækkerup, urging that any sanctions against South Africa should be supplemented by a positive UN policy to help the country towards a multi-racial alternative to apartheid. A policy of sanctions alone might well defeat its own ends. Mr. K.K. Shah, leader of the Indian delegation, urged the Security Council to impose economic sanctions against South Africa. The sanctions would be a first effective step to end the injustices in South Africa. Mr. Oliver Tembo, deputy president of the banned African National Congress, said the practice of apartheid had made South Africa "a living cemetery".

The conference then divided itself into specialised commissions to

•

examine the legal, social, economic and other aspects of the question of sanctions.

Prof. D.H.N. Johnson, Professor of International Law in London University, in his paper dealing with South Africa's objections to interference with its internal affairs under Article 2 of the UN Charter, suggested that "when United Nations organs take decisions by prescribed majorities there is a presumption that they act legally". They need not "tremble to act for fear of exceeding their powers". But he thought that they must on South-West Africa await the World Court's judgement. Sanctions were a political act, Prof. Johnson said.

After discussing the fears of members of creating precedents for the making of "laws" by the Security Council which were binding on members, he stated that the justification of a 'threat to the peace' and a 'breach of the peace' must be judged objectively. "Parties must not be allowed to say that a 'threat to the peace' exists merely because they disapproved of another state's 'conduct'. Nor, however, was the party allowed to say that no 'threat to the peace' exists merely because the question turns on domestic issues and such threats are fomented by his critics". He considered that the collective enforcement of economic sanctions would amount to war (members are free to impose them individually anyhow) and the authority of the Security Council under Articles 25 and 48, together with Articles 2 (6) and 103, "provides the necessary legal backing" for enforcing a blockade.

Mr. Peter Clavocoressi considered that the argument that legally South Africa's policy represented a threat to international peace was tenuous. In a paper comparing the situation under the League of Nations and the UN with special reference to the sanctions against Italy in 1935-36, he observed: "Whatever the correct view of the law may be at present, or the balance of political expediency, or the impact of economics, the case against South Africa rests on massive disapproval". If the campaign to intervene was successful, it would be possible to say that it happened because people did not like what happened there; and the logical conclusion was that intervention could be permitted in all cases where such "unsavoury things" went on. "The remedy is not to refuse to intervene: it is to define the cases in which intervention is permitted". South Africa was a good case to extend the rule of law in human affairs.

Dr. A. Maizels, Senior Research Officer, National Institute of Economic Research, London, concluded from a study of the South African economy that South Africa was vulnerable to an embargo on its imports which would bring its industry to a standstill, provided that it was properly policed and enforced, but did not estimate how long this would take. He thought a limited embargo, to induce South Africa to negotiate, would be possible on capital equipment and petroleum products. Policing problems would be formidable but vitally necessary if sanctions were to be effective.

Mr. Brian Lapping, of *The Guardian*, in a paper devoted to oil, concluded that policing an oil embargo would be highly difficult and it would be necessary to extend the embargo to neighbouring territories and to Portugal. Several papers referred to the need for "policing" and Mr. William Gutteridge, of the Lancaster College of Technology, in a paper on the strategic implications of sanctions, doubted whether even a full-scale naval blockade could be totally effective though it might be "successful in producing the result required". The shortages that would quickly develop in South Africa's urban economy would cause such discontent that there would be unemployment followed by disorders with which the Government would be increasingly unable to cope.

Mr. G.D.N. Worswick, Fellow of Magadalen College, Oxford, in his paper said that South Africa bought one-sixth of all British manufactures. These exports meant employment for 150,000 in Britain but they could go to alternative consumers, particularly to underdeveloped countries, who could be offered loans earmarked for spending on produce sold to South Africa.

Prof. E. Zupnich, of the City University of New York, believed that the effect of sanctions on the US economy could be overcome and alternative customers found for goods sold to South Africa. Both believed that British and US investments in South Africa might be lost temporarily but recovered later. Mr. Roger Opie, Fellow of New College, Oxford, thought that the loss of South African gold would not affect international liquidity if the US removed the present requirement that US currency should be backed by a 25 per cent gold holding.

Prof. K. N. Raj, of the Delhi School of Economics, India, said a world trade embargo on South Africa would certainly be effective. He said India was the first country to break trade relations with South Africa as a protest against its racial policies. India's trade boycott of South Africa appears to have been rendered ineffective, initially, by the re-export of products of Indian origin by countries like Australia, Kenya, Southern Rhodesia and Hong Kong, and later by the breaking of the boycott by Pakistan.

"It is probable that South Africa had to pay higher prices initially for the imports from India secured through third parties and suffered in the process some deterioration in its trade. But the loss on this could not have been very considerable. After Pakistan's entry into direct trade with South Africa even this adverse repercussion is likely to have been corrected. The loss ultimately has been that of India, namely, the loss of the South African market in which it had earlier established itself and in which the demand for its products had been continuously growing."

Prof. Raj said the case for economic sanctions was obviously political. "If all countries decide on severing trade relations with South

Africa and if action is taken more or less simultaneously, the boycott will certainly be effective."

President Abboud's visit to India

PRESIDENT Ibrahim Abboud's six-day visit to India in May has done much to bring the Sudan and India closer to each other. The communique issued at the conclusion of his talks with the late Mr. Nehru reinforces the basic similarity of approach to world problems between the two countries with agreement on specific issues. On a number of world issues like the test-ban treaty, colonialism and disarmament, the communique reveals an identity of views which confirms the positive role of non-alignment. On the two crucial issues of the Chinese aggression and Pakistan's designs on Kashmir, the communique leaves little scope for doubt that the Sudan regards the Indian stand as deserving of complete support. President Abboud joins Prime Minister Nehru in condemning the use of force to settle border disputes and in affirming the principle that the aggressor must be denied the fruit of aggression. He reaffirms the principle of territorial integrity and declares that "the historic and well-defined boundaries of states must be regarded as firm and inviolable". These statements impliedly take note of the aggression committed by China and are a timely reminder that China is bent upon continuing its aggressive policy since it regards India's offer to open talks on the basis of neither side having posts in the demilitarized zone of Ladakh as unacceptable.

The communique also condemns the "misuse of religion for political ends". President Abboud's support for India's stand is all the more significant coming as it does in the wake of his visits to Pakistan and China. It is known that at the end of his visit to Pakistan no communique was issued because he refused to agree to President Ayub Khan's plea for support to a Kashmir settlement on the basis of UN resolutions. The Pakistan President tried to win over the Sudanese leader by appealing to his feelings as a fellow Muslim but the gambit failed.

The joint communique issued after his visit to Peking was confined to support to the anti-colonial struggle in Africa and South Arabia. The Chinese leaders failed to obtain from him any kind of direct or indirect support in their border dispute with India and the issue did not figure in the joint communique issued by President Liu Shaochi and President Abboud.

President Abboud's support to India stems from the community of outlook between the two countries. Both are trying to unite two diverse cultures and races into one nation. Both have followed the policy of non-alignment since independence. Neither has shirked its role in promoting Afro-Asian unity on the one hand and the independence of subjugated people on the other.

India has extended a credit of Rs. 50 million to the Sudan and shown its willingness to give technical assistance for the establishment of new industries in that country. This should mark the beginning of closer economic relations between the two countries. Indo-Sudanese trade is significant in terms of volume. India is the biggest importer of Sudanese long-staple cotton and the Sudan is India's largest buyer in Africa. But lately there has been a sharp decline in trade. Although India's own development needs are pressing, the new credit shows India's willingness to supply credit and know-how to the lessdeveloped nations to expand its trade to the extent possible.

Goodwill mission to Africa and West Asia

THAT the secular basis of Indian policy is understood and appreciated by the people in West Asian and African states is the impression formed by Col. B. H. Zaidi, former Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University, at the conclusion of his month-long tour of some of these countries. India has an abundant fund of goodwill in these countries mainly due to the inspiring lead it gave in their struggle for freedom and by the policy of non-alignment. But, according to Col. Zaidi, this fund of goodwill will be squandered if positive steps are not taken to reinforce it through closer contacts. He favours exchange of visits between leading personalities of India and these countries.

Pleading for the strengthening of India's publicity organizations in these countries, he has expressed his regret that some of the diplomatic missions in the area have done little in projecting a correct image of India.

He has found many misconceptions among the people in these countries about the status and size of India's Muslim population, assiduously created by Pakistani propaganda. Pakistan has sought to advance its interests in these countries by representing itself as a Muslim state and India as a Hindu state. It came as a big surprise to many when the Zaidi mission pointed out that India had a Muslim population of 50 million which constitutes the third largest Muslim community in any country in the world.

In regard to Kashmir, India's case needs more explaining than that of Pakistan which is based on a few plain, though misleading, arguments. But once India's case is explained clearly to these people in the context of India's secular ideals, they will have no difficulty in understanding it. One of the points the delegation made on Kashmir was that the over 50 million Muslims of India would never approve the transfer of the state to Pakistan purely on communal grounds. This would be contrary to India's secular ideals and would also affect the interests of the Muslims in India. The delegation visited Saudi Arabia, Somalia, the Sudan, Libya, Syria, Iraq and Jordan.

—R. K.

AFRICA MOURNS NEHRU

"HE INSPIRED African and all subject peoples". This moving tribute to Prime Minister Nehru, who died in New Delhi on May 27, was paid by Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta. The same note was struck by President Kwame Nkrumah when he said that "Prime Minister Nehru's sympathy and understanding of the problems of Africa was a great source of encouragement to all of us who have been engaged in the struggle for the liberation and unity of Africa".

To many people in Africa Nehru was not only a champion in the fight against colonialism, but also a symbol of peace. In the words of President Yameogo of Upper Volta, "Nehru personified the hero of national liberation and an Indian symbol of peace". Expressing the Senegal people's "profound sadness", President Leopold Senghor said in his country Mr. Nehru had been regarded as "one of the great champions of our common struggle for peace and liberty". Many African leaders have recalled Nehru's championship of the Afro-Asian cause. Mr. Ahmed Benhima of Morocco called him the "sculptor of the ethics and morality of this part of the world".

Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (Nigeria) : "Nigerians will always remember his shining qualities of wisdom, simplicity and humility as well as his deep understanding of human problems. We shall miss his wise counsel in the committee of the nations, especially in the Commonwealth".

President Nyerere (United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar) : "Mr. Nehru was a nationalist of India for the whole of his life. But in truth his contribution was to the whole world which feels his loss".

President Abboud (the Sudan) : "A truly great leader and statesman, a man of extreme courage, an ardent advocate of peace, and a devout champion of human liberty".

President Ben Bella (Algeria) : "The loss of this great man is felt by the entire Algerian people".

ACTIVITIES OF THE COUNCIL

THE following is an account of the activities of the Council during the quarter:

A ten-member delegation of the ruling Kenya African National Union, led by Mr. Kariuki Njiri, Secretary of Education and Publicity of KANU and Junior Minister for National Resources, arrived in New Delhi on April 3 on a study tour of India at the invitation of the Indian Council for Africa.

The delegation consisted of Mr. Henry Wariithi, Chairman of the KANU Parliamentary Group; Senator Kalya; Senator Munyasia; Mr. Mohamed Jehazi, M.P.; Mr. John Okwanyo, M.P.; Mr. John Washika, Assistant Executive Secretary of KANU; Mr. S. M. Marwa, Member of the Nyanza Regional Assembly; Mr. Cherop; and Mr. Eric Arap Chediego.

During its ten-day tour of the country, the delegation, which was accompanied by the Office Secretary of the Indian Council for Africa, visited Gandhian institutes—the Gandhi Museum in Delhi, the Gujerat Vidya Peeth and the Harijan Ashram in Ahmedabad; industrial and development projects—the Fertilizer Plant at Nangal, the Bhakra Dam, the Hindustan Aircraft Factory in Bangalore, the factories of Mahindra and Godrej in Bombay, and the Sayaji Starch and Dextrose factory in Ahmedabad; the Industrial Estate, Okhla; the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa; the Co-operative Training Centre in Bangalore; the Community Development Project in Thana and a Panchayat in Ahmedabad.

The delegation studied the functioning of the Indian National Trade Union Congress when it visited its headquarters in Ahmedabad. It also studied the working of the Congress Party and the Indian parliamentary system. In Delhi the delegation visited the All-India Congress Committee and in Bangalore it learnt from the State Congress President and Secretaries how the party functioned at the state and district levels.

The members discussed problems of public administration with Dr. J. N. Khosla of the Indian Institute of Public Administration and held discussions on planning with Mr. Asoka Mehta and Mr. C. R. Pattabhi Raman. They called on the President of India, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Mr. Krishna Menon, Mr. Dinesh Singh, the Governor of Gujerat, Mr. Balvantrai Mehta and Mr. Najalingappa, Chief Ministers of Gujerat and Mysore respectively.

On arrival at Palam airport, the delegation in a press statement referred to the existence of close and friendly relations between Kenya and India and expressed its confidence that these relations would be further

strengthened in the future. For Mr. Njiri and Mr. Wariithi, who had studied at Allahabad and Bombay universities, "it was like coming home".

On April 4, the delegation visited the Lok Sabha, met the Speaker and had lunch with him. Welcoming the delegates at a reception held in their honour by the Congress Parliamentary Party, Mr. K. C. Pant, General Secretary of the Indian Council for Africa, outlined the history of KANU and its key role in Kenya's struggle for independence. He referred in particular to the towering personality of Prime Minister Kenyatta. There were many persons of Indian origin who had identified themselves with the aspirations of an emergent Africa, he said. Referring to the ties of friendship existing between Kenya and India, Mr Pant expressed the hope that these would be strengthened by the delegation's visit.

Mr. Humayun Kabir, who was then Minister for Petroleum and Chemicals, welcomed the delegation on behalf of the party. Mr. Njiri, speaking on the occasion, said Indians in Kenya were not unwanted. They should have no misapprehension about their future. He praised non-alignment and said it was the right policy and it had come to stay in the world. Thanking the delegates, Dr. H. K. Mahtab expressed the hope that the goodwill that existed between Kenya and India would be strengthened.

The same day, the Indian Council for Africa held a reception in honour of the delegation. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Patron-in-Chief of the Council, presented gifts of books on India to the delegates.

Welcoming the delegates, Mr. K. C. Pant, General Secretary of the Council, said the emergence of the African personality was one of the outstanding features of recent times. "India and Kenya have a good deal in common, especially the colonial background, and it is a welcome fact that India and Africa have collaborated in the United Nations and other international forums." He appealed for a greater understanding among the peoples of the two countries and said that Mr. Jomo Kenyatta was a unifying factor in this cause. Mr. Njiri said the delegation was thankful for the reception it had received in India. He said further exchanges between the two countries would bring them closer. The people of Kenya looked to the people of India for guidance and leadership.

Addressing a Press conference in Delhi on April 6, Mr. Njiri gave the assurance that there was no discrimination against the people of Indian origin in Kenya. The Kenya Government, he said, upheld the rule of law and guaranteed the position of every citizen according to the Bill of Rights. He added that the freedom of expression, belief and association would be maintained in Kenya. The policy of the ruling party was based on the removal of divisions of tribe, colour, custom, caste, community, age, faith or religion which could easily subordinate the national interest. Mr. Njiri announced that Kenya would soon be launching its national plan, somewhat on the pattern of the Indian Five-year Plan. Kenya was seeking advice and assistance from those countries which had planned economies.

The delegation was given a reception by the presiding officers of the Punjab Legislature in Chandigarh on April 5. A cultural programme was also arranged on the occasion. Earlier, the delegates visited the Bhakra Dam and the Nangal Fertilizer Factory.

Eight members of the delegation left Delhi for Agra on April 6 for a sight-seeing tour. The other two stayed back in Delhi because they had been to Agra before. The members visited Taj Mahal and other monuments.

The delegation was given a warm welcome when it arrived in Bangalore on April 7. The members were received by Mr. Ramakrishna Hedge, Mysore Minister for Cooperation and Development.

The delegation visited the Cooperative Training Centre. They were entertained to lunch by the President of the Mysore Pradesh Congress Committee, Mr. Mohammad Ali, and to dinner by the Mysore Chief Minister. In the evening they were given a reception by the Mysore State Cooperative Union. Speaking on the occasion, a member of the delegation, Mr. Jehazi, said in its struggle for economic development, Kenya looked to India for help and guidance as they were facing similar problems. He expressed the hope that cooperation between India and Kenya would result in a further strengthening of Afro-Asian solidarity.

The delegation arrived in Bombay on April 8. Speaking at a reception held in its honour by the Indian Council for Africa (Bombay branch) on April 11, Mr. Wariithi said the most important aspect of India's help to Kenya was in the matter of education. In Kenya today there were six members of Parliament and four Ministers who were educated in India.

Mr. K. K. Shah, Chairman of the Bombay branch of the Indian Council for Africa, welcomed the delegation.

The delegation arrived in Ahmedabad on April 9. It was received at the station by the State Education Minister, Miss Indumati Chimanlal. The delegation called on the Chief Minister, Mr. Balvantray Mehta, who is also President of the Indian Council for Africa, and spent over 40 minutes with him. The members showed keen interest in the textile and oil industry in Gujarat. Mr. Mehta assured the delegation of India's full sympathy and understanding of the various problems which the newly-independent African countries were facing, as they were almost the same problems as India had to face after independence.

Speaking at a reception held in honour of the delegation by the Gujarat Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Wariithi said his Government had accepted the principle of planned economy and both the private and public sectors had been given their due shares. He said Kenya was ready to open its doors to anyone who was ready to do business there and develop the country. The Government was trying to create a climate for making investments safe and secure. Mr. Premchand Gokaldas, President of the Gujarat Chamber of Commerce, in his welcome speech expressed

concern at the decline in imports of textiles from India into East Africa. He expressed the hope that the trade relations between the two countries would be strengthened.

On his return to Nairobi on April 13, Mr. Njiri told newsmen that the delegation's visit to India was one of the most important visits made by the party. Such contacts were "very good and necessary." The delegation had benefited by the visit. "We were able to learn a great deal about agriculture and industry." Mr. Wariithi said India had offered training facilities to Kenya Africans.

Mr. Njiri said Indian Socialism and African Socialism were the same. But democracy was judged according to the working of democratic principles. In India democracy was working perfectly according to the will and wishes of the people.

Holiday Homes for African Students

The Council made arrangements for two African students, Mr. Z. Machwe and Mr. Kariuki, to spend their holidays with Indian families in Himachal Pradesh. Accommodation was also arranged for Mr. W. A. Malisa, a Tanganyikan student, in a holiday home in Simla. He later accompanied a boy scouts' camp to Mussoorie.

Kenya Student's Study Tour

The Council sponsored a tour of various leather factories and tanneries in India by Mr. Francis Ngugi, a Kenya student, on the completion of his training at the Central Leather Institute, Madras. Mr. Ngugi visited Calcutta, Kanpur, Agra, Jullundur and Delhi in this connection. In Delhi, he met representatives of the Council and thanked them for the scholarship the Council had awarded him to study leather technology. He was taken round the capital and was presented with a small gift. He left Bombay for Mombasa last month.

Tanganyikan Students' Visit

The Council made arrangements for two Tanganyikan students, Mr. Ahmad Juma and Mr. S. M. Saiwaad, to tour Delhi. The students, who were on their way to Tanganyika, were entertained to lunch by the Council.

Office Secretary's Study Tour

The Office Secretary of the Council visited Britain to study the work being done there by the British Council among African students. She also studied the working of centres of African studies there. In Paris she visited the UNESCO headquarters and official and non-official institutions engaged in African studies.

BOOKS RECEIVED

ANYANE, S. LA. Ghana Agriculture. Oxford University Press, London. 1963. Pp. 228. 25s.

BROWN, JOE DAVID and THE EDITORS OF LIFE. Life World Library: INDIA. Time Incorporated, New York. 1961. Pp. 160.

CONSTITUTION OF KENYA. Government of Kenya, Kenya Gazette Supplement No. 105. 1963. Pp. 299. 10s.

COUGHIAN, ROBERT and THE EDITORS OF LIFE. Life World Library: Tropical Africa. Time Incorporated, New York. 1962. Pp. 176.

DELF, GEORGE. Asians in East Africa. Oxford University Press Institute of Race Relations, London. 1963. Pp. 73.

HAMRELL, SEVEN and CARL GOSTA WIDSTRAND (eds.) The Soviet Bloc, China and Africa. The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala. 1964. Pp. 173.

HUGHES, A. J. East Africa: The Search for Unity. Penguin Books. 1963. Pp. 277. 4s. 6d.

MALINOWSKI, BRONISLAW. The Dynamics of Culture Change, an Enquiry into Race Relations in Africa, Yale University Press. New Haven. 1961. Pp. 171.

MORISON, DAVID. The U.S.S.R. and Africa. Oxford University Press Institute of Race Relations and Central Asian Research Centre, London. 1964. Pp. 124.

ODUMOSU, OLUWOLE IDOWU. The Nigerian Constitution: History and Development. Sweet & Maxwell, London. 1963. Pp. 407. £. 2. 10s.

PASSIN, H. and K.A.B. JONES-QUARTEY (eds.) Africa the Dynamics of Change. Ibadan University Press, Nigeria. 1963. Pp. 262.

POST, K. W. J. The Nigerian Federal Election of 1959. Oxford University Press, London. 1963. Pp. 518. 45s.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON AFRICA

Compiled by Mohd. Ahmad

This feature is presented every quarter with the object of providing a list of recent publications on Africa. It is hoped that this will be helpful to those who are specially interested in the study of African affairs.

—Editor

- APTER, DAVID E.** *Ghana in Transition*, Originally Published by Princeton University Press as *the Gold Coast in Transition*. Atheneum, New York. 1963. Pp. 432. \$1.95
- ARDENER, EDWIN, SHIRLEY ARDENER, and W.A. WARMINGTON.** *Plantation and Village in the Cameroons. Some Economic and Social Studies*. Oxford University Press, London. 50s.
- ARKELL, A. J.** *Wanyanga, An Archaeological Reconnaissance of the S. W. Libyan Desert*. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, London. 1964 Pp. 40. £3.3s.
- BAUER, P.T.** *West African Trade: A Study of Competition, Oligopoly and Monopoly in a Changing Economy*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London. Pp. 469. 50s.
- BELL, E.M.** *Polygons, Part 2. A Study of Labour Turnover*. U.C. Rhod. & Nyas., Salisbury. 1963. Pp. 124.
- BENSON, M.** *Chief Albert Lutuli of South Africa*. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, London. 1963. Pp. 68. 4s. 6d.
- BERGHE, PIERRE L. VAN DEN.** *Caneville: The Social Structure of a South African Town*. Wesleyan University Press, Middletown, Conn. 1964. Pp. 288. \$6.95.
- BERTONOFF, D.** *Dance Towards the Earth*. Alityros, Tel-Aviv. 1963 Pp. 233.
- BLACK, JOSEPH E. & KENNETH W. THOMPSON.** *Foreign Policies in a World Change*. Harper & Row, New York. 1963. Pp. 756. \$8.75.
- BLIJ, HARM J. DE.** *Dar-es-Salaam: A Study in Urban Geography*. Northwestern University Press, Evanston, Illinois. Pp. 104. \$3.50.
- BLUNDELL, SIR M.** *So Rough a Wind, Kenya Memoirs*. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, London. 1964. Pp. 340. £2.
- BOAHEN, A.A.** *Britain, The Sahara and the Western Sudan, 1788-1861*. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, London. 1964 Pp. 272. £1.15s.
- BOXER, C.R.** *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825*. Oxford University Press, London. 1963. Pp. 136. 15s.
- CAMPBELL, M.J.** *Law and Practice of Local Government in Northern Nigeria*. Sweet & Maxwell, London. 1963. Pp. 236. 35s.
- CARTER, J.S.** *Methods of Mission in Southern Africa*. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, London. 1963. 7s. 6d.
- CHAMBERLAIN, NEIL W.** *The West in a World Without War*. Toronto, New York. 1963. Pp. 85. 10s.
- COLE, J.S.R. & W.N. DENISON.** *Tanganyika: The Development of its Laws and Constitutions*. Stevens, London. £3. 10s.
- COX RICHARD.** *Pan-Africanism in Practice. An East African Study*. Oxford University Press, London. 9s. 6d.
- CREMEANS, CHARLES D.** *The Arabs and the World: Nasser's Arab Nationalist Policy*. Published for the Council of Foreign Relations by Prager, New York. 1963. Pp. 338.
- DAVIDSON, BASIL.** *Guide to African History. African Elephant Books*, Allen and Unwin, London, 5s.
- DUE, JOHN F.** *Taxation and Economic Development in Tropical Africa*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, Cambridge. 1963. Pp. 172. \$ 6.00.
- GARDINIER, DAVID E.** *Cameroon: United Nations Challenge to French Policy*. Oxford University Press, London. 9s. 6d.
- GATHERU, R. MUGO.** *Child of Two Worlds, A Kikuyu's Story*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London. Pp. 230. 25s.
- GUTKIND, PETER C.W.** *The Royal Capital of Buganda*. Mouton, The Hague, 1964, Pp. 330.
- HALPERN, MANFRED.** *The Politics of Social Change in the Middle East and North Africa*. Oxford University Press, London. Pp. 456. 68s.

- HASWELL, H.R. *The Changing Pattern of Economic Activity in a Gambia Village*. H.M.S. Co., London. 1963. Pp. 109.
- HEDGES, R.Y. *Law in Africa (No. 3) Introduction to the Criminal Law of Nigeria (excluding the Northern Region)*. Sweet and Maxwell, London. 1962. £1. 18s. 6d.
- HELLER, J. AND K.M. KAUFFMAN. *Tax Incentives for Industry in Less Developed Countries*. Harvard Law School, Cambridge. 1963.
- HERSKOVITS, MELVILLE & MITCHELL HARWITZ. *Northwestern University Press*, Evanston, Illinois. Pp. 550. \$8.50.
- HEVI, EMMANUEL JOHN. *An African Student in China*. Pall Mall Press. 25s.
- HILL, POLLY. *Migrant Cocoa-Farmers of Southern Ghana*. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 265. 55s.
- HUXLEY, E. *Forks and Hope: An African Notebook*. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, London. 1964. £1. 10s.
- ISSAWI, CHARLES. *Egypt in Revolution: An Economic Analysis*. Oxford University Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London. 1963. Pp. 343. 45s.
- KURT, (ed.) *New Nations in Divided World: the International Relations of the Afro-Asian States*. Praeger University Press, New York, 1963. Pp. 336. \$2.25.
- LIVINGSTON, WILLIAM S. (ed.) *Federalism in the Commonwealth: A Bibliographical commentary*. Cassell, for the Hansard Society, London. 1963. Pp. 237. 30s.
- LOUIS, W. ROGER. *Ruanda-Urundi 1884-1919*. Oxford University Press, New York. \$6.10.
- LYON, PETER. *Neutralism*. Leicester University Press, Leicester. Pp. 216. 25s.
- MACMILLAN, W.M. *Bantu, Boer and Briton*. Rev. ed., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1963. Pp. 382.
- MANNIX, DANIEL P. & MALCOLM COWLEY. *Black Cargoes*. Longmans, London. Pp. 36. 30s.
- MARTIN, A. *The Marketing of Minor Crops in Uganda*. H.M.S.O., London. 1963. Pp. 78.
- MELADY, THOMAS P. *Faces of Africa*. Macmillan, New York. 1964. Pp. 338. \$7.50.
- MIDDLETON, J. & WINTER, E.H. (eds.) *Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa*. Routledge, London. 1963. Pp. 308.
- MODISANE, BLOKE. *Blame me on History*. Thames and Hudson. 1963. 25s.
- MOTLEY, M. *Home to Numidia (Algeria)*. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, London. 1964. Pp. 240. £1.5s.
- MULFORD, DAVID C. *The Northern Rhodesia General Election of 1962*. Oxford University Press, London. 15s.
- NELSON, N. *Your Guide to Egypt*. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, London. 1964. £1.1s.
- OBI, S.N.C. *The Ibo Law of Property*. Butterworth, London. 1963. Pp. 239. 45s.
- OKUMU, WASHINGTON. *Lumumba's Congo. Roots of Conflict*. Obonlensky, New York. 1963. Pp. 250. \$3.95.
- OLLENNU, JUSTICE N.A. *Principles of Customary Land Law in Ghana*. Sweet & Maxwell, London. 1962. £2 10s.
- PERKINS, E.R. (Preface) *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers 1942 (in seven volumes). Vol. IV. The Near East and Africa*. United States Government Printing Office, Washington. 1963. Pp. 854.
- POLIVA (YATZKANI), J.A. *A Short History of the Jewish Press and Literature of South Africa*. Johannesburg. 1963. Pp. 130.
- POLK, WILLIAM R. (ed.) *Development Revolution: North Africa, Middle East, South Asia*. The Middle East Institute, Washington. Pp. 277. 4.00.
- POLLOCK, N.C. AND S. AGNEW. *An Historical Geography of South Africa*. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, London. 1964. Pp. 272. £1.10s.
- QURAISHI, ZAHEER MASOOD. *Patterns of Western Domination Over Africa*. Institute of Afro-Asian and World Affairs, New Delhi. 1963. Pp. 34. 50 nP.
- RIVKIN, ARNOLD. *The African Presence in World Affairs: National Development and its Role in Foreign Policy*. Macmillan, New York. \$5.95.
- ROSSI, MARIO. *The Third World: The Unaligned Countries and the World Revolution*. Funk & Wagnalls, New York. 1963. Pp. 209. \$4.00.
- SIGMUND, PAUL E. (ed.) *The Ideologies of the Developing Nations*. Frederick A. Praeger, New York. 1963. Pp. 326. \$6.00.
- SKLAR, RICHARD L. *Nigerian Political Parties: Power in an Emergent African Nation*. Princeton University Press, New Jersey. Pp. 576. \$12.50.
- STAHL, K.M. *History of the Chagga People of Kilimanjaro*. Mouton, The Hague. 1963. Pp. 358.

- STEFANISZYN, BRONISLAW.** *Social and Ritual Life of the Ambo of Northern Rhodesia*, edited with a foreword by Raymond Apthorpe. Oxford University Press, London. 1964. Pp. 177. 32s. 6d.
- STERLING, THOMAS.** *Unity's Children*. Victor Gollancz, London. 1963. Pp. 308. 21s.
- STEWART, ALEXANDER.** *South West Africa. The Sacred Trust*. Da Gama Publications, Johannesburg, 1963. Pp. 46.
- SUMNER, D.L.** *Education in Sierra Leone*. Govt. Press, Freetown. 1963. Pp. 475.
- TIMOTHY, BANKOLE.** *Kwame Nkrumah: His Rise to Power*. Northwestern University Press, Evanston, Illinois. Pp. 182. \$3.50.
- TRIMMINGHAM, J.S.** *Islam in East Africa*. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, London. 1964. Pp. 224. 1.8s.
- TUKER, GEN. SIR F.** *Approach to Battle 1941-43*. Cassell, London. 1963. Pp. 410.
- TUTUOLA, A.** *My Life in the Bush of Ghosts*. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, London. 1964. 6s. 6d.
- UNDERWOOD, L.** *Figures in Woods of West Africa, New edn.* Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, London. 1964. Pp. 56. 12s.
- UNESCO.** *A Review of the Natural Resources of the African Continent*. UNESCO Paris. 1963. Pp. 437.
- UNESCO.** *Science teaching in the Secondary Schools of Tropical Africa*. UNESCO. 11s.
- UNITED NATIONS.** *Report of the Special Committee on Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa*. United Nations, New York. 1963. Pp. 154. \$1.50.
- UNITED NATIONS STATISTICAL OFFICE.** *Year Book of International Trade: Statistics, 1961*. United Nations, New York. 1963. Pp. 709. \$8.00.
- WILLIAMS, C. KINGSLEY.** *Achimota—the Early Years*. Longmans, Accra, and Ikeja. 1961. Pp. 158. 7s 6d.
- WRAITH, R.** *Local Government in West Africa*. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, London. 1964. Pp. 184. 9s. 6d.
- WRAITH, R. & SIMPKINS, E.** *Corruption in Developing Countries*. Allen & Unwin, London. 1963. Pp. 211.
-

AFRICA QUARTERLY

A Journal Of African Affairs



Vol. IV

July-September 1964

No. 2

CONTENTS

Page

Freedom Movement in the Congo (Leopoldville)	... Ram Chandra Pradhan	68
Development Problems in Africa	... R. K. A. Gardiner	84
The Case for Majority Rule in Southern Rhodesia	... Joshua Nkomo	90
Scientific Research in India	... A. Rahman	102
Quarterly Chronicle	...	111
The Rivonia Trial (Documentation)	...	124
Activities of the Council	...	143
Books Received	...	144
Bibliography	...	145

Note To Contributors

The Indian Council for Africa welcomes articles and contributions from all interested in African affairs, especially from those making particular studies of African problems and people. Remuneration may be paid for articles and contributions accepted for publication in the journal.

The views expressed in the articles under the authors' names are not necessarily those held by the Council.

AFRICA QUARTERLY

(A Journal of African Affairs)

Editor:

Balvantray Gopaljee Mehta

Editorial Board:

Asoka Mehta

Kakasaheb Kalelkar

B. Shiva Rao

Dinesh Singh

G. L. Mehta

H. N. Kunzru

Associate Editor:

S. A. Mehdi, M.P.

AFRICA QUARTERLY is published in January, April, July and October every year.

AFRICA QUARTERLY is devoted to a study and objective understanding of African affairs. It publishes contributions from outstanding writers, experts and specialists on various political, economic, social, cultural and literary subjects of interest to the people of Africa. Apart from these, it carries documentation on different specialised African subjects.

© *Contents Copyright*

Subscription (in India): Rs. 10 per annum **Subscription (Foreign):** £ 1. 10 sh. or \$ 5
Single Copy: Rs. 3 **Single Copy:** 9 sh. or \$ 1.50

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Mr. Ram Chandra Pradhan is a Research Scholar at the University of Ranchi, Bihar.

Mr. R. K. A. Gardiner is Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa.

Dr. A. Rahman is Scientist-in-Charge of the Survey and Planning Unit of the Indian Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN THE CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE) (1956-1960)

by RAM CHANDRA PRADHAN

THERE are three overriding considerations for making a study of the Congolese freedom movement :

First, paucity of published work on the subject : no major work has been done on the history of the Congolese freedom movement.

Second, the peculiarities of the Congolese situation in general and the course of its freedom movement in particular. These are : (1) Perhaps no other dependent country in the world has won its freedom within such a short period and at such a low price as did the Congo. But it would be equally true to say that no other country had to pay so heavily in the subsequent preservation of its independence as the Congo. (2) During the larger part of colonial rule, Belgo-Congolese relations were marked by harmony. But in the wake of the Congo's independence the relationship deteriorated to the extent of armed conflict and diplomatic break. Franco-Algerian relations cannot be compared to Belgo-Congolese relations. The Algerians liberated their country through an armed struggle but, after independence, they have been by and large pulling along well with France.

A third consideration leading to this study is the continuing crisis in the Congo. It has been said, and correctly so, that the direction and the moorings of a freedom movement in a dependent country determine to a great extent the system of government and structure of society she would have in her post-independence days. Thus the present study might help us in understanding and analysing the continuing crisis in the Congo.

The main objectives of this paper are : (1) to trace the origin and development of the freedom movement in the Congo; (2) to examine the reasons for the delayed growth of Congolese nationalism; (3) to analyse the factors and forces that had a propelling impact on it; and (4) to find out a link, if any, between the post-independence development of the Congo and the direction and moorings of its freedom movement.

We shall start with a brief survey of the history of the Belgian occupation of the Congo and of the essentials of Belgian colonial policy.

I

THE Congo was carved out and consolidated as a single political entity by King Leopold II of Belgium. After immense "political manipulation", King Leopold got himself recognised as the sovereign of the

new state.¹ Belgium followed suit, though reluctantly. Thus came into being the Congo Free State.² The administration of the Congo Free State indulged in excesses on the natives : they were murdered and mutilated for their failure to bring the allotted amount of rubber and ivory.³ The result was an international scandal of the first order exposed by Roger Cusement's Report in 1904. It is true that Leopold II vehemently denied the excesses done to the natives.⁴ But this failed to retrieve the tarnished name of the Congo Free State administration. Mounting public opinion, both at home and abroad, almost forced Belgium to take over the Congo as her colony in 1908.⁵ Till June 30, 1960, the Congo remained under Belgian colonial rule. No voice for freedom was raised till 1956. The Congo was described as a "happy colony", "an empire of silence."

II

THIS immediately brings us to the examination of the forces responsible for the absence of political discontent from the Congolese mind. The absence of political consciousness in the Congo could be partly attributed to the basic political strategy of Belgian colonial rule and partly to the socio-political-economic infrastructure of Congolese society, though the latter itself was to a great extent a by-product of the former. The *raison d'être* of Belgian colonial policy was to check the advent and growth of Congolese nationalism. Belgium tried to achieve this mainly in three ways : (a) by keeping the Congolese economically content; (b) by denying higher education to the natives and thus, in effect, preventing the appearance of an indigenous elite class in the

1. King Leopold II of Belgium was interested in finding a colony for his country. Having failed in his attempt to secure a colony in the Far East, he turned to Africa. Encouraged by Stanley's exploration of the mouth of the Congo river, he concentrated on Central Africa. Working under the banner of the International Organization for the Congo, he was ultimately recognized by the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 as the sovereign of his newly created state, the Congo. See Ruth Slade, *Leopold's Congo*, Institute of Race Relations, Oxford University Press, 1962, pp. 35-43.

2. Belgium thought she had no stomach for a colonial possession. Even after King Leopold II was recognized by the Berlin Conference (1884-85) as the sovereign of the Congo she was reluctant to extend legal authorization to him. It was after a good deal of hesitation and heart-searching that she agreed to give legal authority to him for becoming the sovereign of the Congo. This is evident from the Parliamentary Act which gave him the authorization. It says, "The Union between Belgium and the new State would be exclusively personal."

See George Martelli, *Leopold to Lumumba: A History of the Belgian Congo (1877-1960)*, Chapman and Hall Ltd, 37 Essex Street, London, 1962, Chapter 12, Birth of an Empire, pp. 108-17.

3. It is said that during Leopold's regime in the Congo (1885-1908) the Congolese population was reduced by 6 million due to the murder and mutilation of the natives. See John Gunther, *Inside Africa*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1955, pp. 644-45.

4. Leopold II denied that his administration had indulged in atrocities against the natives and that he had amassed a big fortune. In his will he wrote, "This is my testament. I inherited from my parents 15 million. These fifteen million I have religiously preserved through many vicissitudes. I possess nothing else." Quoted in George Martelli, n. 2, p. 186.

5. Ruth Slade, n. 1, pp. 210-13.

Congo; (c) by isolating or insulating the Congolese from the outside world.

Largely due to its vast mineral resources and small population, the Congo made rapid progress in the economic field.⁶ This economic prosperity of the Congo, in its turn, helped Belgium in establishing a network of social welfare services. The result was that Belgium succeeded in "buying off" Congolese discontent in *guid-pro-guo* of the better economic situation.⁷

There was no institution for higher education in the Congo till 1954 when Belgium was forced by world opinion to start a university there. The Congolese were also allowed to go abroad for higher education.⁸ The reason why the Belgians did not want to provide higher education for the natives was simple : they feared that an elite class would ask and agitate for national independence. Thus the denial of higher education to the natives prevented the appearance of an indigenous elite class which, in its turn, marred the growth of Congolese nationalism.

Belgium studiously attempted to keep the Congolese insulated from the outside world. On the one hand, they were not allowed to go abroad, not even to Belgium, and, on the other, Belgians were discouraged from settling in the colony.⁹ Thus both intellectually and physically, the natives were isolated from the outside world.

The rich mineral resources and small population of the Congo facilitated the task of Belgian colonial rule. These factors helped the Belgians in keeping the Congolese economically content.¹⁰ Living in a vast area with poor communications, and not enjoying the benefits of higher education, the Congolese failed to develop the sense of "oneness" which is so essential for the growth of nationalism. Thus the Congolese were not only isolated from the outside world but were also isolated from one another because of the poor communications. Small wonder that the Congolese, economically well-off, educationally backward, and with little contact with the outside world and with little political unity within the country, took no interest whatsoever in political activities till World War II.

III

THE end of World War II marked a water-shed in the life of Congolese society and consequently in its attitude to Belgian colonial rule. Broadly speaking, this change could be attributed to three factors. In

6. Its area is 904,775 sq. miles and population 14,997,000—See the Statesman's Year Book 1963, Macmillan & Co. Ltd, London 1963, pp. 984-16.

7. John Gunther. n. 3, p. 650.

8. Mr. Kamza was the first Congolese to be allowed to go to Belgium for higher education in 1952. Congo : Background of Conflict by Merriam, P. Alan, Northwestern Press, 1961, p. 43

9. Ibid., p. 44.

10. Some good works have been done on Belgian colonial policy. Ruth Slade, The Belgian Congo; Some Recent Changes, and George Brausch's Belgian Administration in the Congo, both published by the Institute of Race Relations, London, give critical analyses of Belgian colonial policy. A study sympathetic to Belgium has been done by George Martelli. n. 2.

the first place, the war itself gave a big blow to colonialism. The Soviet Union emerged from the war much more stronger than before, with the edge of her opposition to the Western domination of Asia and Africa as sharp and strong as ever. The traditional colonial powers like Britain and France were reduced to the status of second-rate powers. The leadership of the West passed on to the U. S., which had moral inhibitions in supporting her colonial friends in their colonial pursuits. Besides, the emergence of India, Ceylon and Burma as independent nations resulted in the formation of an anti-colonial front both in and outside the U. N. This anti-colonial drive made an immense impact on the people of Asia and Africa, of which the Congo was a part. Secondly, Congolese soldiers, who went to fight in Europe in World War II, acquired from close quarters knowledge about the European way of life, of European institutions and ideas. They went back to their homes with new ideas and new perspectives. There they shared their views with their fellow-countrymen with whom they came into contact.¹¹ This presumably had an imperceptible impact on the Congolese mind. Thirdly, and what was more important, by the end of World War II, there had been a change in the infrastructure of Congolese society and a middle class had emerged there.¹² Some of the natives, due to the diversion of Belgian personnel to war ends, were promoted to responsible posts, both in the national administration and in business. This gave them a new perspective and perhaps a taste for power. The most important result of the rise of the middle class was the social problem. The "evolves," as they came to be called, were making an agonising reappraisal of Belgian policy. They had all the troubles of an emerging elite class.

They were appalled by and agitated over the social injustices done to the Congolese. A number of associations, such as UNISCO and UNEIMA, came to be formed.¹³ Although they were meant for the discussion of philosophical, social and psychological problems created by the rise of this class, they contributed in a subtle, though significant, way to rousing political awakening. For, it was on these forums that the "evolves" started raising their voice against the social injustices meted out to the natives. Besides, they provided a training ground for some of the Congolese leaders like Mr. Kasavubu, President of the Republic of the Congo, who was himself actively associated with one of them, namely, UNISCO.

To meet the rising aspirations of the "evolves", the Belgians took some measures.¹⁴ In 1952, the decree of "inmatriculation" was passed. It provided for the "juridical assimilation" of the "evolves" with the whites in the Congo.¹⁵ But this failed to satisfy the natives. For, what they were interested in was not to be judged with the Europeans

11. Ruth Slade. n. 10, p. 9.

12. Ibid., p. 13.

13. Merriam, P. Alan n. 8, p. 117.

14. Ruth Slade n. 10, pp. 21-22.

15. Ibid., p. 23.

in the same courts, as the decree of inmatriculation provided, but equality in every walk of life. Some of them even smelt in it a "sinister move" on the part of Belgium to create differences among the Africans.

In 1954, the Catholic Government was replaced by a Liberal-Socialist coalition. Mr. Besseret, the new Colonial Minister, attempted to break down the monopoly of the Catholic Church in the field of education by giving to African parents the right to choose schools for the education of their children. When criticised in the Belgian Parliament, he vigorously defended his policy on the ground that it had the support of the natives.

This was an eye-opener to the natives. They came to realise (a) the existence of wide differences of opinion among the whites on their colonial policy and (b) the political value of organised public opinion.¹⁶

King Baudouin's visit in 1955 also, in a way, contributed to the growing awakening and discontent among the natives. They had looked upon him as a "liberal" who could give them their rightful place. When nothing came out of the visit except a vague promise of Belgo-Congolese community, they felt frustrated.¹⁷ Probably the realisation came to them that they would have to fight for their rights.

Thus till 1955 the problem of political independence for the Congo was not thought of or even talked about. Nevertheless, by this time the Congolese had become aware of their problems, resented the social injustices done to them, and even got some of them rectified. All this was a prelude to their political awakening and activities.

IV

THE year 1956 was a turning point for the freedom movement in Africa in general and the Congo in particular. By this time the Afro-Asian voice, raised at the Bandung conference (1955) calling for an end to all colonialism, had reached every part of Africa. The Gold Coast (Ghana) was fast approaching its freedom. Colonel Nasser of Egypt had established himself as a champion of the Afro-Asian cause and the Suez crisis had added new feathers to his cap. The whole Afro-Asian group rallied round him and this was no doubt one of the factors which ultimately forced "the Anglo-French-Israel aggression" to retreat. This effectiveness of the Afro-Asian voice in the Suez crisis had its effect all over Asia and Africa, including the Belgian Congo.

In the Congo itself, some important changes took place. All barriers to Congolese nationalism, i.e. denial of higher education, absence of an elite class and lack of contact with the outside world, had already collapsed. Inspired by the Belgian Socialist Party's policy declaration in regard to the Congo and the "quasi-toleration" of Kimbisti by the

16. Ruth Slade n. 10, p. 24.

17. Merriam, P. Alan. n. 8. pp. 67-69.

Government, the elite class, which had already become quite vocal, started having a new look at Belgian colonial rule.¹⁸ It was in such a propitious, though politically placid, atmosphere in the Congo that Prof. A. A. J. Van Bilsen threw almost a "time-bomb" in the form of his book "A Thirty-year Plan for the Political Emancipation of Belgian Africa". The book, for the first time, not only discussed the problem of independence of the Congo but also made some concrete suggestions to solve it. He highlighted the drawbacks of Belgian colonial policy. He considered the absence of an elite class to be the greatest failure of Belgian rule, and blamed the Belgians, and not the Congolese, for this. The main conclusion reached by the author was that as nothing had been done to prepare the Congolese to shoulder the responsibility of freedom a thirty-year plan might be worked out to lead them to national freedom. The book was coldly received in Belgium where the author was described as "an irresponsible strategist who fixes a date". It was said that his attitude showed that either he knew nothing or he understood nothing about Africa.¹⁹

However, the book created almost a stir in the Belgian Congo. The immediate reaction came in the form of two "manifestos" which not only called for the immediate end of all sorts of discrimination against the Congolese but also demanded political independence.

The first manifesto was published in the July-August issue of "African Conscience" and, though moderate in tone, spelt out certain measures to lead the Congolese to national freedom.²⁰ Some of its important points could be summarised as follows :

- (a) It welcomed the thirty-year plan proposed by Prof. A. A. J. Van Bilsen.
- (b) It peremptorily rejected the concept of a Belgo-Congo community.
- (c) It made a fervent appeal for unity in the Congo and expressed itself against the formation of political parties at that stage.
- (d) It called for gradual but progressive emancipation of the Congolese people.

To this end, it suggested two measures to be taken immediately :
(i) instead of being consultative, the Government council should have

18. "Kimamu established a secret organization in the late twenties of this century. It was based on protest, mysticism and distorted Christianity. It was anti-White and its members believed in the coming up of a black Messiah. He was arrested and died in jail but the Government failed to eliminate them completely." See John Gunther, n. 3, p. 655.

19. *Independence Congolese Pacifique Conquete*. Breuxells: Editions de Remargues Congolaise, Collections 'Etudes Congolaise No.3, 1960, p. 52 quoted in Merriam, P. Alan, n. 8, p. 70.

20. The "Conscience Africane" had grown out of a cultural group formed by Abbu Joseph Malula in 1951. This was a forum for discussion of various philosophical and psychological and sociological questions. From 1953 onwards, however, the discussions were published under the title of *Africane Conscience*, edited by Joseph Ileo. For the full English text of the manifesto. See Merriam, P. Alan, Appendix V, pp. 321-329.

the power of governance; and (ii) its members should be elected by the people and not nominated by the Government as had been the practice.

The manifesto was soon followed by the counter-manifesto of ABAKO²¹, which was more critical in tone and more demanding in nature. It made out four points in the main : First, it was very critical of the authors of the first manifesto and particularly of their views on the question of political parties. It compared the authors of the manifesto to a "soldier who loves victory but denounces arms". It considered the formation of political parties essential for the state. Secondly, it demanded political freedom and freedom of the press, religion and conscience. Thirdly, it rejected the thirty-year plan for political emancipation out of hand. It commented : "Our patience is already exhausted since the hour has come and independence should be granted to us this very day rather than delay it for the next thirty years." Fourthly, it rejected the concept of a Belgo-Congolese community and favoured the formation of political parties on the basis of ethnic groups. What was important about the manifestos was the fact that the Congolese were for the first time demanding political independence for themselves.

However, the excitement created by the two manifestos soon cooled off and did not result in much political activity.

It was in the year 1957 that the Congolese tasted on a limited scale the first fruit of democracy. By a Government decree, dated March 26, 1957, the status of some cities was changed. They were divided into communes (European and African) and each was to elect its own communal council and mayor for a three-year term²².

The election was officially designated as "consultative" and the administration reserved the right to rule out the choice of voters and nominate the mayors. The electorate were strictly limited by educational and other qualifications. This is clear by the fact that only 46,944 out of a total of 350,000 Africans were eligible to vote. From the political point of view, the most important election was that of Leopoldville, where ABAKO captured 30 out of 76 seats.²³ How keen the African voters were can be seen by the fact that 85% of them went to the polls against 77% of the whites.²⁴ This was the first exercise of democratic voting and it probably whetted their appetite for further democratisation of Congolese politics and administration.

21. Abako was started as a movement in 1951. Its aim, at that time, was strictly cultural and revolved round the rebirth of the Bakongo language. It became a political party in 1959 though it had been working as one since 1956. For the full English text of Abako's counter manifesto, see Merriam, P. Alan, Appendix II, pp. 330-336.

22. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, April 11-18, 1959, p. 16755.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid, p. 16756.

V

IN the year 1958, the Congolese freedom movement entered into yet another phase which was marked by the Congolese insisting on national freedom and Belgium having a second look at her colonial policy. The changing situation—both in the Congo and the outside world—gave an impetus to the Congolese struggle for independence.

The recession of copper prices in the world market gave a severe jolt to the Congolese economy.²⁵ This created a serious problem of unemployment. The whole edifice of Belgian colonial policy—the “buying off” of Congolese discontent by somewhat improving the economic conditions—was shaken to its foundation.

Soon after his becoming Mayor of a suburb, Dendale, on April 25, 1958, Mr. Kasavubu made a speech calling for freedom of the press and association and home rule for the Congo. Mr. Pettilion, Governor-General, issued a “warning” and imposed “sanctions” upon him.²⁶ This was resolutely opposed by several African Mayors, who characterised it as “undemocratic and unconstitutional”.²⁷ Mr. Arthur Pinzi, Mayor of Kaluma (another district of Leopoldville), introduced a motion in the Council on June 21, 1958, demanding application of the liberties defined in the U. N. Charter, democratic elections to the city and provincial councils and Africanisation of the administration and immediate measures leading eventually to independence.²⁸ However, the motion was ruled out by the Governor-General.

No less significant was the change of government in Belgium. In the summer of 1958, the Social Christian Party, with liberal support, took office and Mr. Pettilion, the then Governor-General, replaced Mr. Bessereet under the new designation of Minister for the Congo and Urunda Rurundi.²⁹ He immediately announced a policy of decolonisation and the appointment of a parliamentary commission consisting of both European and African members. The committee was to visit the Congo and submit a report on the political situation there. A broad-based policy of emancipation was to be framed on the basis of the report.

Three external events immensely influenced the Congolese mind. In the first place, mention must be made of the International Exhibition held at Brussels from April to October 1958. The exhibition had a Belgian-Congo section showing an African village. Hundreds of Congolese coming from different parts of the country met and exchanged views at the exhibition.³⁰ They came to know more about each other, about their common problems and about the whites in their own land. They

25. George Branson. n. 10, p. 72.

26. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, April 11-18, 1958, p. 16755.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid, p. 16756.

29. Ruth Slade. n. 10, p. 44-45.

30. Merriam, P. Alan. n. 8, p. 80.

came back to the Congo with new ideas, with a new urge for freedom and, above all, with a new sense of unity.

The second event was General de Gaulle's unequivocal pledge in August 1958 at Brazzaville (on the other side of the Congo river) that "whoever wanted freedom can have it as soon as he wishes."³¹ This created a stir among the Congolese and they started asking "why Belgians do not speak in this way to us." The impact General de Gaulle's speech had on the Congolese mind can be judged by the fact that within two days of his speech a "motion" signed by several Congolese leaders, including Lumumba, demanding independence was submitted to the Belgian Government. The signatories to the motion later formed MNC (Movement National Congolese)—the first supra-tribal party of the Congo. The third event was the holding of the Pan-African Conferences in 1958 (the conference of independent states of Africa in April and the Pan-African People's Conference in December 1958). These also influenced Congolese political life.³² Mr. Lumumba attended the Pan-African People's Conference at Accra and came to know other African leaders and their views and more about the freedom movement in Africa. On his return from Accra, in a speech he demanded immediate independence.

It was in such a situation of deteriorating economic conditions in the Congo and rising anti-colonial forces all over Africa that riots broke out on January 3-4, 1959.³³ Belgium found herself face to face with a problem she had refused to see in the past. The riots were crushed with a heavy hand and there were casualties in hundreds. Mr. Kasavubu and his colleagues were arrested. Belgium immediately announced the appointment of a parliamentary commission to inquire into the causes of the riots. King Baudouin in a broadcast said: "It is our firm intention without undesirable procrastination and undue haste to lead the Congolese towards independence in prosperity and peace."³⁴ The noteworthy point is that the term "independence" was used for the first time in an official declaration. This was followed by the "historic" declaration of the Belgian Government on January 13, 1959, which envisaged elections to rural and municipal councils on the basis of adult suffrage at the end of 1959; elections to the provincial councils by these bodies by 1960; establishment of a General Council and a Legislative Council as the nucleus of the two chambers of parliament; abolition of all racial discrimination and admission of Africans to all grades of the civil service. There was no indication of the time by which the General Council and the Legislative Council were to be set up. But it was reassuring that the declaration was prefaced by the statement that "Belgium intends to organise the Congo as a democracy capable of exercising its prerogatives

31. Merriam, P. Alan. n. 8, p. 81.

32. Ibid., 83.

33. *The Hindu*, January 6, 1959.

34. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, pp. 1675-6.

of sovereignty and of deciding the question of independence for itself."

On January 15 Mr. Van Hemelryic, Minister for the Congo, visited the Congo and had discussions with the Congolese leaders. He immediately promised the end of all racial discrimination and granted 500,000,000 francs to balance the deficit budget.³⁵ Besides, he announced the decision to set up a Consultative Council.

VI

ALL these concessions, however, failed to meet the rising aspirations of the Congolese people. They were prepared to accept nothing less than independence. Belgium also came to realise that she could not hold on to her colony for ever (though at that time she did not imagine that her colonial rule would end as early as June 1960). This realisation on the part of Belgium led her to adopt certain measures, viz, the upgrading of Africans in the administration, the training of African youths for responsible posts and the abolition of all discriminatory laws. These were intended to prepare the Congolese for the responsibilities of independence. This reversal of policy, i.e. the creation of a class that could shoulder the responsibilities of independence, implied an admission of the fallacies of her previous policy. Belgium, in effect, was trying to do what she had always opposed and what Britain had done in her colonies long ago.

The Congolese freedom movement took a new turn. On April 11-12 of that year at Luluabourg various political parties and groups met to discuss the problems and prospects of independence and, if possible, to present a common front.³⁶ But they failed to present a common front. Abako, one of the strongest groups, was not represented at the conference (it had been banned in January and Mr. Kasavubu was in Brussels). The real importance of the conference lay in the fact that it was the first conference of its type—for the first time, so many political parties had met on a common platform, thus breaking down the regional isolation of the political parties. They demanded the establishment of a national government in June 1961, though again they failed to agree on the status of such a government. Thus while MNC considered that the establishment of such a government would imply the simultaneous granting of independence, the rest of the delegates envisaged a period of internal autonomy during which the new government itself would decide the date of full independence.³⁷ Finally, they agreed to hold a similar conference in the summer of the same year.

In May, Mr. Kasavubu and his colleagues were released and the charges against them withdrawn. Mr. Kasavubu on his return from prison bitterly criticised the Belgian programme as an "incomplete

35. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, pp. 1675-6.

36. Keesing's Contemporary Archives. Oct. 31, Nov. 7, 1959. p. 17089.

37. Ibid.

promise" of self-government for the Congo. But he hastened to express his faith in the "solemn promise" given by King Baudouin regarding the development of democracy in the Congo.³⁸

When the Belgian Minister for the Congo paid a three-week visit to the Congo in June, he was received with both "cheers and jeers"—cheers from Africans who thought he was leading them to independence, and "jeers" from Europeans in the Congo who thought that he was liquidating Belgian colonial rule too quickly. Mr. Kasavubu, leader of the Abako, put forward a proposal for the creation of "an autonomous Republic of Central Congo" in Leopoldville in January 1960 as the first step towards a federation. This was, however, rejected by the Belgian Minister as being contrary to the whole Belgian policy for a unitary Congo state.

On the other hand, ten other political parties in a joint memorandum demanded the formation of a Constituent Assembly and a provisional government in June 1960, to be followed by a referendum on the adoption of a permanent constitution in December 1960. After his return from the Congo, the Minister remarked in the Belgian Parliament that by and large the Congolese were supporting his policy.

This account of the Congolese struggle for independence would remain incomplete unless we make a study of the principles and purposes of the main political parties and their leaders. As indicated above, political parties appeared quite late on the Congolese scene. MNC, which was formed in October 1958, was the first supra-tribal political party to have a political programme. Between October 1958 and the early part of 1960, about 120 (according to some 200) parties came to be formed. This mushroom growth of political parties was primarily due to the tribal nature of Congolese politics. The parties were formed not on the basis of political and economic programmes but on the basis of ethnic groups. Almost all of them had no comprehensive economic programme. Obviously, it would not be possible to describe each party separately.³⁹ Broadly speaking, they can be put under four categories: (i) The Separatists; (ii) the Federalists; (iii) the Unionists; and (iv) the Moderates.

The Separatists: Chief among them was Abako—a party whose stronghold was Leopoldville. It turned itself into a political party in March 1959, though as a social organisation it had existed since 1950. It stood for a separate state of Bakongo—comprising that area of Leopoldville which was inhabited by the Bakongo tribe—and the Congo (Brazzaville). Despite its differences with Belgium on the question of a separate state for the Bakongo, the party was in favour of close relations with Belgium. Mr. Kasavubu, its leader, was a moderate man with pro-

38. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, pp. 1675-6.

39. For a detailed discussion of the political parties in the Congo, see Merriam, P. Alan, n. 8, Chapter IV, Parties and Politicians, pp. 114-172.

Belgian leanings, whom Belgium tried to instal as Prime Minister after the general election of May 1960. The move failed because he failed to secure sufficient parliamentary support.

The Federalists : The main spokesman of the federalists was Conakart—a party whose stronghold was Katanga. Though before independence it stood for a loose confederation, its federalism amounted to separatism, as was proved after independence when it broke away and tried to establish a separate sovereign state of Katanga. Its leader, Mr. Tshombe, was a tough man with pro-Belgian leanings.

The Unionists : MNC—a supra-tribal political party—strongly advocated a centralised Congo. Its leader, Mr. Lumumba, an ardent nationalist and a great advocate of African unity, favoured a completely independent national policy for the Congo. Though its stronghold was Stanleyville, its supporters were to be found in every part of the Congo.

The Moderates : There were a number of political parties which could not be put under any of the above heads. For example, PUC, in Upper Congo, UMCO, PNP and others, which were moderates and advocated non-violent methods of independence and close relations with Belgium.

In September, Mr. Van Hemelryck, Belgian Minister for the Congo, was dropped from the Cabinet on the charge of hastening the Congo towards independence. His successor, Mr. Auguste de Schriver, was a conservative by reputation, though he promised to continue his predecessor's policy. This gave an impression to the Congolese leaders that Belgium was not sincere in its professed desire to give independence to them at an early date. This realisation made them impatient.

Meanwhile, political forces in the Congo were being bipolarised. Lumumba, at a party (MNC) congress held at Luluabourg, called for a "boycott" of the December election. He threatened to launch a "positive plan for the immediate liberation of the Congo."⁴⁰ Tribal riots broke out in Luluabourg and Lumumba was arrested. But the moderate wing of the MNC agreed to participate in the election provided a Round Table Conference was held before December. Belgium immediately accepted the proposal. On November 3 she declared that such a conference would be held on November 20 to enable Belgium to explain its policy to Congolese political leaders and *vice versa*.

Owing to the non-co-operation of the Belgian Socialists and the refusal of various Congolese political parties to participate in the conference, the idea of holding a Round Table Conference as originally planned was abandoned. The Belgian Minister for the Congo went to the territory

40. *The Daily Telegraph* (London), October 24, 1959.

and had discussions with leaders of the various political parties. He was presented with a plan jointly sponsored by Abako, Conakart and PSA for an independent federal Congo. The plan envisaged that the six provinces should be made into six states, each with an elected Assembly and a Government and a Federal Government at the centre to which each state would cede part of its sovereignty. After consultation with Congolese political leaders, the Belgian Minister for the Congo invited them to Brussels. A delegation led by Mr. Kasavubu, Mr. Gizenga and Mr. Tshombe reached Brussels in December 1959 and held discussions with the Belgian authorities. However, the talks were bogged down on the issue of the timing of the Round Table Conference, the Congolese leaders demanding the immediate convening of the conference and postponement of the December election and Belgium not agreeing to it. On December 14 the Congolese leaders came back to the Congo and deplored "the negative attitude" of Belgium.⁴¹ Curiously, on December 14 Belgium announced that the Round Table Conference would be held in January 1960.

As planned, the Congo went to the polls in mid-December. The election was held in a peaceful atmosphere. The voting pattern showed the tribal nature of Congolese politics. Abako, Conakart, and MNC won seats in their traditional strongholds—Leopoldville, Katanga, and Stanleyville respectively. The Belgian King, who was then on a state visit to the Congo, was confronted with the demand that sovereign power should be given to Parliament, which was to be elected in May 1960.⁴²

On January 12 it was declared in Brussels that the proposed Round Table Conference would be held from January 20, 1960. The Congolese delegation consisting of different political parties arrived in Brussels on January 18. At a meeting held before the conference they agreed on two points: (a) to present a common front on the question of immediate independence; (b) to press Belgium to accept the conclusions reached by the conference as binding. For two weeks Mr. Kasavubu boycotted the conference and Mr. Lumumba came to join it directly after his release from jail. The conference lasted a month and the main conclusions reached by it can be summarised as follows⁴³:

- (i) **Independence** : The Congo, within its present frontiers, would become independent on June 30, 1960.
- (ii) **Formation of Government** : Soon after the May general elections King Baudouin, after consultations with the Congolese political parties, would name a leader who would form a Government whose Ministers would have the confidence of Parliament.

41. *The Times of India*, December 16, 1959.

42. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, March 19-26, 1960, p. 17316.

43. For the full English text of the resolutions passed by the Round Table Conference, see Merriam, P. Alan, Appendix III, pp. 337-51.

- (iii) **The Prime Minister** : The Prime Minister would conduct state policy in agreement with his Council of Ministers.
- (iv) **Head of State** : The Head of State would enjoy powers which would include that of enacting regulations and decrees necessary for the enforcement of laws. He would not, however, suspend the law or grant any exemptions from its operation.
- (v) **Parliament** : The legislature would consist of two chambers: the House of Representatives and the Senate.
- (vi) An Economic Conference would be held in April.

On March 2 the Belgian Parliament passed a bill incorporating these provisions. The bill, which came to be known as *Loi Fundamentale*, was to serve as a provisional constitution for the Congo.

The economic conference was held in Brussels from April 25 to May 16. Its main decisions were⁴⁴ :

- (i) Belgium would make available a credit of 2,700,000 Belgian francs to cover the deficit budget of the Congo.
- (ii) All semi-public organisations would come under the authority of the Congolese Government.
- (iii) A plan for social and economic development would be drawn up and measures taken to safeguard public investments from abroad.

Meanwhile there was a realignment of the political forces in the Congo. Gizenga's PSA came on the side of Lumumba, who described himself as a true national leader. The May general election was, surprisingly, held in a calm atmosphere. Lumumba's MNC emerged as the single largest party in Parliament by bagging 37 out of 137 seats. It was the only party which won seats from every state except Katanga, where its supporter, Balukabat, became the main opposition party.⁴⁵

Belgium took two steps which created misgivings in the Congolese mind. It reinforced its troops and appointed Mr. Walter Ganshof Van Meersech (already there were two Ministers for Congo Affairs) to supervise the elections.⁴⁶ The Congolese interpreted it as a move to instal a "puppet" Government in the Congo. On June 2, Mr. Lumumba accused Belgian officials of manipulation to prevent him from becoming Prime Minister. He made four specific demands: (i) recall of Mr. Meersech; (ii) withdrawal of Belgian troops; (iii) election of President by direct popular vote instead of by Parliament; (iv) change of the flag⁴⁷. However, Belgium paid no heed to his demands.

The problem of formation of Governments, both at the centre and at least in two states, encountered serious difficulties.

In Leopoldville, PSA, the single largest party in the State Assembly,

44. Keesing's Contemporary Archives. August 20-27, 1960, p. 17594.

45. Ibid. p. 17595.

46. *The Times* (London), May 21, 1960.

47. *The Daily Telegraph*, June 4, 1960.

formed the Government. Abako, which had threatened to set up a separate Government for the Bakongo area and seek federation with the neighbouring Congo (Brazzaville), withdrew its threats only when its leader, Mr. Kasavubu, was made President of the Republic of the Congo.⁴⁸

In Katanga, Conakart, led by Mr. Moise Tshombe, failed to get the requisite majority to form a Government. It was only after the Belgian Parliament passed a law making the setting up of a simple majority Government possible that Mr. Tshombe formed his Government.⁴⁹

At the centre, the task proved more difficult and frustrating. First of all, Mr. Lumumba was entrusted with the task. Soon he was relieved and Mr. Kasavubu was asked to explore the possibilities of forming a Government. He failed. Meanwhile the Lumumbaists captured the offices of President and Vice-President of the House of Representatives. This left Mr. Meersech with no alternative but to ask Mr. Lumumba to form the Government. He succeeded. A compromise formula emerged: Mr. Lumumba was to head the Government and Mr. Kasavubu the State. The Lumumba Government was an all-party coalition Government, excluding only MNC (Kalonji).⁵⁰

The process of formation of the Government was of a revealing nature. It brought to the surface the personal feuds between the Congolese leaders. Besides, the inept handling of the situation by the Belgian Resident Minister made Mr. Lumumba and his supporters feel that Belgium was hostile to them and wanted to set up a Government subservient to her.

In Katanga, the announcement of the formation of the Lumumba Government drew a sharp reaction from Mr. Tshombe. He threatened to secede but the timely intervention of the Belgian authorities averted the crisis.⁵¹

It was in a situation charged with emotion and suspicion that the Congo became independent on June 30, 1960.

On the basis of this account of the Congolese struggle for freedom, certain conclusions can be drawn:

First, it is clear that Belgium had no policy of decolonisation. This had two consequences: (i) She did not make any effort to prepare the Congolese to shoulder the responsibilities which independence brought in its train. (ii) Owing to the lack of a long-term decolonisation policy, she was bewildered when she was confronted with the demand for freedom by the Congolese. The result was that she was forced to quit the Congo in a hurry.

Second, the growth of nationalism in the Congo was belated. The reasons for this were: (a) the paternalistic attitude of Belgium to the

48. *The Times of India*, June 14, 1960.

49. *The Times* (London), June 17, 1960.

50. *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*. August 20-27, 1960, p. 17597.

51. *The Observer* (London), June 30, 1960.

Congolese; (b) the absence of an indigenous elite class in the Congo which was the result of denial of higher education to the natives; and (c) the lack of contact with the outside world.

Third, belated as it was, the current of Congolese nationalism was swift. The factors that had a propelling impact on it were :

(i) The deteriorating economic situation in the Congo. On the one hand, it took away the strongest weapon from the armoury of the colonial administration—the buying off of Congolese discontent—and, on the other, it made Belgium realise that the Congo as a colony would be an economic liability rather than an asset.

(ii) The anti-colonial drive also had its impact on the Congolese struggle for freedom. While it boosted Congolese morale it weakened Belgian determination to stick to her colony.

(iii) Probably, the Belgian desire to save her capital investment was also a factor leading to the early independence of the Congo.

(iv) It could be said that the seeds of the crisis were lying hidden : (a) the shaky foundation of the Congo's economy; (b) the lack of trained personnel; (c) the absence of a strong and united political leadership under the command of a towering leader like Nkrumah of Ghana or Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya; and (d) the Belgian desire to see that the Congo remains in the orbit of her influence.

DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS IN AFRICA

by R. K. A. GARDINER*

ALTHOUGH Africa has a larger land surface than India, its population is between 200 and 300 million—about half of India's—divided into more than 34 nation-states. These states vary greatly in physical size, in population and in natural resource endowment. It is not unusual for states with large territories to have a small population concentrated in a small part of the country nor for very small states to be wedged in between relatively large ones. West Africa is the best example of the kind of problems we confront. Here we have a mosaic of states of widely varying physical extent, of widely varying population sizes, divided by differences in the modern languages adopted from the former metropolitan countries and, in a similar way, by the currency systems to which their own currencies are tied. When we add to this the fact that historically contact between these countries has been very little till quite recently (since the transport systems were not designed to promote such contact) and that some are associated with the European Economic Community, and some are not, some idea may be gained of the complex issues involved.

When the Commission was being set up nearly six years ago it was apparent, and fortunately accepted, that a good deal of its contribution to the economic development of Africa would depend on joint action between several states and the terms of reference therefore required the Commission, among other things, to:

“Assist in the promotion of coordinated economic development projects or concerted action.”

During its first five years the Commission took a number of decisions of a fundamental nature. It established the annual Conference of African Statisticians in recognition of the fact that no planned development was possible without adequate statistical data. It went further to establish permanent training centres to turn out the necessary manpower required by governments for work on national statistics.

The Commission, at its second session, directed that work should begin on inventories of natural resources and later set up a Standing Committee on Industry, Natural Resources and Transport. I need not here emphasize that Africa is believed to possess ample natural resources which have yet to be exploited for her own industrial development.

*Text of a speech delivered at a meeting held under the auspices of the Indian Council for Africa in New Delhi on September 22, 1964.

The Commission established an Institute for Economic Development and Planning in Dakar; the Institute's main function is training based on the adaptation or development of techniques of planning appropriate for African conditions. In other words, training must be based on research into and understanding of the realities of development problems *in Africa*. The Institute is already attracting support from advanced countries as well as the attention of scholars from outside the region.

The Commission is also making some contribution to the reorientation of university teaching in economics in Africa following a meeting of university representatives held in Khartoum in 1960.

Until 1961, however, the Commission was preoccupied with a grave problem with which you are familiar: the long-term downward trend in the prices of primary export commodities. In that year the then Executive Secretary in his speech to the session put forward the view that the solution lay in a structural change in the African economies, in other words, in accelerating industrial development based on what the terms of reference had described as "concerted action". The Commission also took the first steps towards the establishment of an African Development Bank which is expected to play a very important role in promoting industries on a sub-regional basis. The first meeting of the Board of Governors will take place in October or November this year to choose the first president and a site for the Bank. African countries have undertaken to raise 250 million dollars. It is hoped that the wise management of this limited amount will inspire confidence and encourage non-African funds to be channelled through it to member states. These funds may take, for example, the following forms: (a) funds-in-trust; (b) funds for joint ventures sponsored by a number of African states; (c) funds for joint ventures sponsored by one or more African states in cooperation with some non-African agency or industrial concern. What the member states have tried to do in creating the African Development Bank is to provide a collective guarantee for funds made available, after careful study, to African countries and to ensure the responsible utilization of such funds. So far there have been very encouraging signs of interest outside Africa in the Bank and I have no doubt of the vital role it will be called upon to play.

I have used the term sub-region. A good deal of the work of the Secretariat now centres on this concept: roughly an area which may be identified as a substantial geographical unit either from the point of view of population concentration (providing potential labour supply and markets) or of natural resource distribution or of agricultural potentialities. These factors, taken together, establish the possibilities of industrial development and the building up of transport networks. Thus, although at present we speak of four sub-regions: North, West, East-Central, and the now Equatorial, the geographical definition of a sub-region is flexible and shifts according to the chief criteria used.

As the Commission's thinking has developed so terms like "concerted action" have taken on a new meaning and since our approach is essentially

•

practical this can perhaps best be explained by examples:

In the field of industry the Secretariat organized in 1963 three missions to West, North and East-Central Africa to make a first appraisal of projects which can be fruitfully developed only on a sub-regional basis. A good deal of intensive detailed work has followed and as a result two high-level inter-governmental meetings are to be held this year at Bamako in Mali and at Tangiers in Morocco, and one in East Africa next year. Broadly speaking, these meetings will deal with industries whose minimum efficient output requires a volume of demand which can only be provided by several countries taken together. For example, the governments of the West African sub-region will consider proposals relating to chemicals and fertilizers, cement, iron and steel, engineering and electrical goods, footwear, food, textiles, building materials and so on.

In the field of transport we have succeeded in obtaining assistance from several countries in Western Europe and from the United States for teams of transport specialists to develop pre-feasibility and feasibility studies for the construction of sub-regional inland networks. As you may know most of the transport systems in Africa run from the interior to the coasts and were designed mainly to move raw materials outwards to Europe and elsewhere and imports from the coast inland. Now we hope to improve inter-country links to move the raw materials and goods which the new industrial and agricultural programmes will make available for distribution within the sub-region. These teams will begin work within the next few months.

In agriculture we have jointly with FAO and other international and bilateral agencies been examining the basic problems of production, marketing, storage and processing, and hope to develop concrete projects for early implementation.

Simultaneously, we have been examining the institutional supports for trade within the new context. We have been pushing ahead with measures not only to simplify customs procedures but also to introduce some degree of harmonization by placing all of them on the Brussels nomenclature. This has required a considerable training programme for customs officials. Work is at the same time proceeding on studies of transit problems as the basis for frontier traffic agreements.

Another institutional requirement vital for promoting trade is a "payments union." I use this expression to cover a variety of arrangements without which inter-country trade in Africa will be seriously hamstrung. I referred earlier to the large number of African states—34—and to the fact that they were divided by different currency affiliations. In West Africa alone we can identify the franc zone, the sterling bloc, the Portuguese and Spanish escudos, and the U.S. dollar, not to speak of the separate national arrangements of Guinea and Mali. This situation is found, though less dramatically, in North, East and Central Africa.

African currencies, generally speaking, are not sufficiently convertible, even though many African countries have convertibility *inter se* through

participation in currency unions and have a further access to "external" convertibility in various degrees through association with metropolitan currencies. It seems obvious that with the growth of autonomy in economic and financial matters, the pressures of development will *worsen* rather than improve this situation and that exchange and trade restrictions are therefore likely to increase rather than the reverse. This might not matter so much as far as trade with *non-African* territories is concerned, but it would strike at the roots of any development of intra-African trade. But the development of intra-African trade is a *sine qua non* of African development on a really effective scale—particularly in respect of industrial development. A Payments Union would help to provide a high degree of intra-African convertibility. The fact that intra-African trade today is small and localised is irrelevant, as also is the argument that trade promotion should precede any innovations in the payments system. Both should go hand-in-hand, with the object, of course, of raising intra-African trade far above its present insignificant level.

This does not mean that there are no problems to be met in this approach but it cannot be beyond our wit, beyond accumulated human experience or beyond the goodwill and determination of countries inside and outside the Region to solve them.

As with rail and road systems the design of telecommunications has no relation to the needs of intercourse between neighbouring countries. Cablegrams from African countries have to be transmitted to their neighbours *via* Paris or London or Brussels or New York. The costs and delays such a system would impose on an emerging continental or sub-regional trade system can be left to the imagination. The Commission, in collaboration with the International Telecommunications Union, has therefore been working on an emergency programme—the Dakar Plan—recommended by the Organization of African Unity on the problems of establishing a high frequency network linking African capitals. This is one illustration of the way in which the OAU and the ECA collaborate.

In November this year a meeting of African air transport authorities will take place at Addis Ababa to consider ways in which coordination and pooling can enable them to reduce costs and expand operations in the Region. In this they have the excellent example of a recent similar development in Western Europe involving a large number of airlines. It is likely that as a result of this meeting a permanent African Civil Aviation Council may be created to guide future development.

This unexciting catalogue of the Commission's activities has a meaning. They represent the steady building up of the foundations of what is variously described as common markets, economic integration and so on. That these different terms are frequently applied to the same situation is a reflection of the flexibility of the Commission's approach.

As I have said before, the most striking features of the African scene today are, first, the territorial fragmentation of the Region; second, the vast distances and, in some ways, the awkward distribution of population;

third, the isolation bred by past colonial history; and, fourth, the increasing evidence of a comparatively rich endowment of natural resources.

In approaching the problem of accelerated industrialisation on a concerted or sub-regional basis we have, in some respects, gained enormously from the examples of similar systems of Latin America and Western Europe. In Africa, however, where conditions are somewhat different, our objective has been not to embark on academic discussions of the conditions, precedents, etc., of economic integration or on theoretical and general arguments of the advantages to be gained by it, but, as a first step, to select those industries which form the backbone of industrial development in general and to demonstrate, through technical and economic studies, that if groups of countries had the will, they could make a significant beginning. Since these industries can only come into existence and survive by taking advantage of economies of scale, whether internal or external, to the plant, and since income levels being low and subject to fluctuations, they must operate on the basis of multi-national markets, there is no alternative to mutually advantageous concessions and protective measures of the kind normally characteristic of the early stages of common markets.

But there are a host of other problems from which I select a few. First, we need to build up very rapidly a more detailed picture of natural resources. This means expanding the facilities and skills for resource exploration, measurement and technical evaluation. Then we must organize a substantial body of know-how required to determine the best uses to which these raw materials may be put; experts in industrial and agricultural research, experts in the design and evaluation of projects, and in constructing them, experts connected with all aspects of manufacturing and distribution and so on; equipment and capital goods for research and factory construction. Obviously a vast effort must be organized to provide these skills and capital goods in the required quantities and qualities. Special machinery for inter-governmental consultation must be set up; the scope of the Secretariat's functions will widen; new institutions concerned with industrial research, designs, standards, patents, technological education and training may have to be established and even the contents and methods of education and training altered.

These may be described as problems of logistics and mechanics and I can see no insuperable difficulty in solving them as they have been solved elsewhere in the past and even now.

But there are graver difficulties. Sub-regional development, the first stage in the setting up of a continental common market, must be designed in such a way that each country must be fully involved in creating it and in enjoying its benefits. This we recognize as an inescapable condition of success. For this reason we place considerable emphasis on the development of medium and small-scale industries which can be organized to serve national markets.

The sub-regional and multi-national industries must be harmonized

with current plans and resources of individual governments for industrial development. This is likely to be a troublesome process but I am convinced that African governments and their people will make the necessary adjustments to permit this to a large extent.

The mention of a common market brings us to the problems of the association of 18 African states with the European Common Market. Since the establishment of the Commission there has been serious concern about the actual and long-term effects of this association on attempts by African states to cooperate in their economic development. In Geneva during the Trade Conference, it was agreed that if a substitute could be found to keep the economies of some of the African states, which are predominantly dependent on aid from France and the Common Market, solvent and buoyant, realistic steps might be taken to reconsider the present situation. Moreover, meetings of the Commission have been assured by representatives of the European Common Market that associate African states could either form common markets among themselves or join non-associate states in forming such markets. The only point not clear about this is that the principles of association require that arrangements which may discriminate against members of the Common Market be submitted to arbitration, if necessary. At this stage it appears that an academic discussion of the implications of the Common Market for African countries will prove barren. Under the decisions of the Commission all member states are now converted to a common customs nomenclature; arrangements are being made for harmonisation of customs procedure and transit and frontier traffic agreements. The present situation will have to be put to a practical test when conditions begin to further increase intra-African trade and coordination in the development of industries which might require common external tariffs to ensure their initial survival and ultimate viability.

The size and shape of the problems we have so far examined will, I hope, have given some idea of our needs for aid not only from the richer countries but also from countries like India whose experiences are close enough to us to provide reasonable guidance.

I must add now that since our arrival we have been received by officials and ministers alike everywhere with warmth and a readiness to give what they can. We shall thus be able to take back a message of hope.

THE CASE FOR MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

by JOSHUA NKOMO

In this article written from his desolate restriction camp at Gonakudzingwa, Mr. Joshua Nkomo presents his case in a balanced, unemotional manner, devoid of all bitterness and rancour. The article has been reproduced from the "Daily News" of Southern Rhodesia.

—EDITOR.

AS we inevitably move towards majority rule in Southern Rhodesia, a lot of questions are being asked by a number of people, both here and abroad. Not only are questions being asked, but also statements of facts and intentions are being advanced. Not all of these questions and statements of facts and intentions are being made with an undoubted honesty of purpose. Others are so.

Being, as I am, an ardent exponent of majority rule, as the only and natural solution to the political, social and economic problems that beset the country, let me give a picture of the majority rule that we are struggling for, as I see it.

Since the various problems that face us today as we move towards majority rule have their origin in the historic development of this country, I wish to give a short resume of this important background in my preliminary observations.

The first Government of Southern Rhodesia, as we know it today, was based on the Charter granted to Cecil John Rhodes by Queen Victoria in 1889. (I say the first Government of this country "as we know it today" because there were African governments of the country, before the country was known as Southern Rhodesia.)

The entire Government and administration of the country was given to BSA Company created by the 1889 Charter.

The powers of the Administration were, of course, subject to the authority of the British Colonial Secretary.

Things remained so until 1923 when responsible Government was granted to the Colony after a referendum conducted among about 13,000 White settlers.

Though this was a decision that was bound to affect the African people drastically, no attempt was made to consult them on the matter.

Records show that only about six Africans, who had come from S. Africa either as missionaries or servants of the Pioneer Column, took part in the so-called referendum.

It is needless to point out that this change in the status of the country brought about drastic changes in the lives of the entire African population.

It was after the implementation of the Orders-in-Council giving responsible Government in 1923 that Africans in this country were automatically made British subjects.

They had no choice in this. The new Parliament that was elected following the implementation of the new constitution appointed a commission, the Carter Commission of 1926, whose recommendations resulted in the enactment of the notorious Land Apportionment Act in 1930.

This Act has since been amended several times.

It must be pointed out here that the so-called Native Reserves were created during the Chartered Company rule, and they were meant for those who wanted to pursue their traditional way of life.

The rest of the country was open to people of all races.

The introduction of the Land Apportionment Act was, therefore, the beginning of the permanent division of our people into separate sections based on the concept of master and servant, and ruler and ruled (i.e. White versus Black).

The Indian and the Coloured people remained somewhere in-between—legally regarded as Europeans, but in practice unaccepted in the European community.

The whole pattern of life was guided by and revolved round this separatist law—the Land Apportionment Act.

Our political, social, economic, educational and even religious life was coloured, controlled and directed by this Act.

We lived in one country only in theory. But for all practical purposes, we lived in two separate worlds. It was by the (all-White) Government's design that we were made to remain strangers to one another.

The result was that Europeans acquired large tracts of land. Towns and townships became exclusive homes of Europeans. There developed stringent pass laws—a vicious system designed to control the movements of Africans into the towns.

Africans were allowed into the so-called European areas only as workers for Europeans and for the benefit of Europeans. They could not be there in their own right.

The same thing applied to the mines; Africans worked there as unskilled migrant labourers who were expected to return to their homes as soon as their contract had expired, or in the event of their contracting tuberculosis.

It is a known fact that economic development the world over grows faster in the urban areas, around the mining centres and other such establishments.

But because these areas were, and still are, reserved exclusively for Europeans, Africans could not (as they cannot) own property or engage in any major commercial or industrial undertakings.

As a result and as was planned, when the post-World-War II economic boom came, all industrial and commercial expansion was confined to European areas.

The African areas and the Africans were completely by-passed. They were almost completely excluded from all plans for economic and national development. All executive, managerial, technical and skilled jobs were by law and custom reserved for Europeans only.

Consequently, there emerged two wage-systems—one, an artificially inflated one, for the Europeans, and the other, a sub-economic one, for the African people.

In most cases this was below subsistence level. The gap between the two was (and is) so wide that this year the Anglican Church, in their efforts to put wrong things right, found it very difficult to bridge the gap.

The same thing has happened in our civil service, statutory commissions and in public utilities.

The Africans were and are still employed as messengers, and at the very best as sub-assistants to Europeans.

In the army Africans may not be recruited to the regular armed forces; in the police force, Africans can only rise to the rank of Sub-inspector—and this, only after years of political agitation.

Now turning to rural areas, the effects of the Land Apportionment Act and the Land Husbandry Act, in the so-called Native Reserves (now called Tribal Trust Lands), are well known.

The over-crowding, over-population and the consequent soil erosion and soil depletion that followed the removal of Africans from what are now called European areas, are still fresh in our minds.

The loss of livestock by the African people as a result of destocking, tsetse-fly infection and by poisonous herbs in some of the new areas greatly disturbed the people.

Thousands of people who were removed from the areas that had been declared European found themselves landless.

The land, they were told, could not go round.

"The land does not increase; but you increase every day," it was emphasised.

And yet the fact still remained that the land from which they had been removed still remained vacant. About 6,000 European farmers have taken over large tracts of land of which only 25 per cent has been put under effective use. The rest (75 per cent) still remains wild jungle.

The position is made worse by the fact that a big number of large land-owners are absent landlords who are not Rhodesians at all.

It will be said in certain quarters, "But Africans can also purchase farms."

The fact is that they can purchase plots, and not farms; and unlike European farm-holders, they experience great difficulties in raising funds to develop their plots.

The Government will not loan them moneys or guarantee their loans

as it does in regard to European farmers.

They are not allowed to grow such lucrative cash crops as Virginia tobacco. (If any do now, they are a very small percentage and highly controlled).

Indeed, some amount of all-round progress has been achieved in the country, but this progress has been geared in favour of the White man. It has by-passed the African people who have been regarded as almost irrelevant in the development plans. The Government has been, and is still, concerned mainly about European progress.

It can be safely said therefore that whatever progress has been made by the African people in this country has come as a by-product and almost an accident.

There was no purposeful desire and design on the part of the relevant authorities to bring about the progress.

This may seem hard on some people, but it is the truth, which I feel duty-bound to point out.

I am well aware of the fact that there are many well-meaning European men and women who have spent their lifetime working for and with the African people.

Some of them have contributed very important services; others have quietly worked to bring human equality in the country; others still have altruistically worked to improve the lot of the Africans; and still others are working quietly to bring about majority rule in the country, sincerely believing that it is the only and best way to secure peace and prosperity in the country.

All this is true; all this I know. But it is too little, ineffectual and incapable of changing the wrong course and direction followed by those who want a destination only known to themselves, and by people who are bent on destroying the country and themselves.

During this period the African has contributed to the over-all progress of the country just like anyone else.

During the last two World Wars, he fought on the battle-fields as well as on the home front.

He was told that the world was in danger of domination and oppression of man by man.

He willingly came forward to play his part to save mankind from that evil.

But, alas, this same evil showed its ugly head in his own country. Parliament in S. Rhodesia remained exclusively White. More and more discriminatory laws were passed. The whole machinery of administration was set at his disadvantage.

The African was told that he would take part in the Government and administration of the country when he was more educated and civilised.

Unfortunately he believed this political humbug. But as years went by he was disillusioned. As he moved towards those requirements (set

standards), he saw the line being pushed further and further away from him.

Each time the requirements to qualify for voting were raised higher and higher and beyond his reach. The vote remained the preserve of a chosen few, and almost 100 per cent White.

Of course, a few Africans managed to cross the "holy line".

But the masses could not and have not been able to reach it. This "select group of people" became the sole guardian of the destiny of the country. They are known as the "electorate". They number between 80,000 and 90,000 in a country of over 4,000,000 people.

They are made of a small number of the early European settlers, a big number of Whites who settled in the country after World War II and less than 5 per cent of the indigenous African people.

This small "select group of people" has become the sole deciding factor in any change that has to be made in the country. No Government dare make any change that does not comply with the wishes of the "electorate."

Any changes in education, wages, system of property ownership and all those factors that enable one to qualify for membership of the "electorate club," are strictly controlled and jealously guarded by the club.

When people in the country speak of preserving "our Rhodesian way of life," they mean this system of control by the "exclusive club," and the way of life as viewed by it.

This is exactly what Ian Smith meant when, addressing a Rhodesian Front meeting at Sinola on May 22, 1964, he said: "Our independence will maintain the standards we have enjoyed for the last 40 years. The independence will be a civilised one."

As far as we are concerned, the whole thing is inhuman, uncivilised, uncultured, stupid, selfish and above all un-Christian.

II

IT must be remembered that the official religion of this country is Christianity.

It is therefore essential that the standards of the affairs of the State must be measured up to Christian ethics and values.

Britain also has Christianity as her official religion. But this is what Mr. Smith said at his Sinola meeting: "There was a time when the British and Rhodesian moral codes were the same. It is obvious today that our moral codes are different."

The pertinent question is: Who has gone off the rail—Sir Alec Douglas-Home or Mr Smith?

This article would be incomplete if I did not comment on the part played by the church in the affairs of this country.

When I say the church I mean the missionaries of all denominations that assisted in the development of the country.

No one can deny the fact that there was a time when the entire education of the African people was provided by the church with very little or no assistance from the Government.

Up to this day the church still shoulders more than 90 per cent of African education.

The churches have played no small part in the provision of medical services, particularly in the outlying districts.

Of course, the African people themselves played an important part in providing these services.

Lest I be misunderstood, let me hasten to add that the church has not been spotless regarding the wrong things that have been perpetuated in this country. As a matter of fact, I am at variance with the church on a number of issues. However, these do not call for comment here.

I point out these things because it seems that many people do not understand the position of the church in our society. I am not at all suggesting that the church should take part in party politics. But I do say that the church, as the conscience of the people, has the right and duty to make its voice heard on such a definite question of right and wrong as the one that confronts us in this country.

The church will destroy itself if it sacrifices Christian principles and ethics on the altar of expediency.

Mr Smith and Mr. Dupont have said that "international Communism" is the cause of the troubles in this country. Others say that if the United Nations did not interfere in our affairs all would be well.

Mr. Smith told his cheering crowd at Banket that he had facts and figures to prove his allegation about international Communism.

I hope he did not mean the fiction told by his Minister of Law and Order about some imaginary "military training in North Africa."

One thing that must be clearly understood is that one does not have to be a "Communist" to recognise the political imbecility of such statements as "I do not expect an African Government in my lifetime," and "if we were foolish enough to allow more African representation in Parliament, we would be guilty of the greatest folly."

The manifestation of this type of thinking among the European population of our country became clear to us after the second World War.

It was obvious that the intention of the settler minority Government was to stiffen the rules and conditions of gaining membership of the "electorate club."

It was shouted, "We cannot lower standards."

What was meant was that the country must remain under European minority control for the foreseeable future.

It was on September 12, 1957, that we decided to do what was done all over the world to free the masses from domination by the minority. That is to organize the masses into one powerful force to

fight for this basic human right—the right to vote.

There was no question of outside influence. None of us at that time had been outside the country.

We set ourselves on a course to fight a wrong and bring about a new order where the colour of a person's skin was treated as the accident that it is, and not a passport to a fuller life.

We set ourselves on a course to fight for the establishment of a Zimbabwe where human rights and dignity would be respected irrespective of skin pigmentation.

When in 1959 our organization (the ANC) was banned and its leaders imprisoned without trial, there was no question of our having turned Red, or having been influenced by the Afro-Asians.

The ban was a reaction by conservative White supremacists who had realised that we were no longer prepared to be led up the garden path, or tolerate, as we had done hitherto, any more domination.

Following the ban of the ANC, a number of harsh laws were passed such as the Unlawful Organization Act, the Preventive Detention Act and the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, as well as several other Acts designed to suppress the genuine aspirations of the African people.

During the last five years thousands of Africans have been sent for detention, restriction, and prisons for political reasons—all in the bid to frustrate African political and economic emancipation.

Those who, for self-interest, want to maintain the status quo, and are resorting to harsh legislation to achieve their ends, are at pains to tell the world that they are fighting against Communism which wants to see Europeans thrown out of Africa.

Communism is a European ideology: it is not an African ideology. If that is the aim of Communism, it definitely is not our aim.

What we are fighting to crush in Zimbabwe is not the White man, but White domination. And we can easily draw the line between the White man and White domination.

We suffer no confusion whatever on the matter.

Our enemy in Zimbabwe is not the White man, but political, economic and social domination of a majority by a very small minority.

We rejected the 1961 Constitution in no uncertain terms. We rejected it for two reasons: one was political and the other moral.

Politically we could not accept a constitution and sit in a Parliament created by that constitution and justifiably reject a motion by that House requesting Britain to grant a Smith-type of independence.

If we had done that we would have committed national political suicide.

Present events have substantiated and justified our wisdom in rejecting the constitution.

Morally, we could not have accepted a constitution which implied that the White minority section of our population was superior to the African majority.

There are those who say that I accepted this constitution. This, of

course, is just a lot of nonsense. If I had, then those concerned should have been able to produce a document bearing my signature.

Apart from our rejection of the constitution at the conference table, we rejected it again at our congress held in Bulawayo in 1961.

We also rejected it concretely by our referendum in which over 500,000 Africans voted against it and about 300 voted for it. So that the new constitution was agreed to by Sir Edgar Whitehead and confirmed by the exclusive "electorate club."

Here again a major decision in the affairs of our country was made without the consent of the African people, and against their will.

This has resulted in a serious dispute between those who believe in minority rule and those who believe in majority rule.

Because the White minority supremacists wield political power, they have used these powers against those who represent majority aspirations.

A political crisis has been created in this country.

This has resulted in a slump in our economy caused by political uncertainty.

Money has been frozen, and investors are not prepared to take the risk.

Thousands of workers, both black and white, have been thrown on the street.

Many industries have collapsed and others face the same doom.

Politically frustrated people are resorting to all sorts of frustrated actions.

The courts, through the harsh laws that they have to administer, have passed all sorts of sentences against those who found themselves accused of contravening one Act or another.

One has to be an African to know and to feel what is going on.

I do hope that some people among us will be spared to write the history of this dismal period that we are passing through.

As I write this article, I and six of my colleagues are restricted or rather detained here at Gonakudzingwa (where the banished ones sleep) in the Gona-Rezhou (where elephants sleep) Forest Area.

It is not for me to describe the area and the bathos and pathos of people who find themselves thrown into a strange area teeming with wild animals for opening their mouths to demand that which is right, just, and proper.

I leave it to students of history to do so in future.

But let me say that if we have to be sacrificed on the altar of our people's freedom and independence, we take it in its stride, and we accept it without any malice towards anybody.

We do so because we believe our cause is right and just. Not right and just only for those whom we represent, but for all the people in this country.

Unlike Mr. Smith, who believes in a settlement that lasts only for his lifetime, we believe in a settlement that lasts for ever—for the good of all. The settlement is majority rule and then independence.

We do not suggest that once majority rule and independence are achieved, we shall experience a national life of "And so they lived happily ever after," as is the case at the ending of every fable.

We are quite aware that many new problems will arise.

But we shall have achieved a condition that will bring about the working together of the majority of our people, which will make the solution of our problems an easy operation.

The working together of all our people is a prerequisite to national progress.

III

IT has been said in certain quarters that I and my colleagues want to destroy industries in this country. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

In actual fact, we are battling to bring about just the opposite of this.

We want to see, created in this country, favourable conditions that will provide security for both public and private enterprise for national progress.

The main ingredient of the "favourable conditions" is majority rule—a *sine qua non* of political stability and therefore economic and social progress.

There is talk by some people that "majority rule" means rule by Africans only; that Africanisation will deprive Europeans of their jobs and that there will be a general lowering of standards.

To us majority rule means the extension of political rights to all people so that they are able to elect a Government of their own choice, irrespective of race, colour or creed of the individuals forming such a Government.

All that matters is that a Government must consist of the majority party elected by the majority of the country's voters.

"Africanisation" means the opening of all those jobs and the extension of the ceiling which had been closed to Africans, without necessarily eliminating those who at present hold such jobs, unless they choose to do so on their own accord, or are proved to be disloyal to the administration.

There should be no fear of anyone losing his job, because ours will be an ever-expanding economy and administration.

With regard to the question of maintaining standards, if by that is meant what Mr Smith and his kind imply—White domination at the expense of the masses—then those "standards" must go.

If, on the other hand, they (the Smiths) are referring to "standards" as known throughout the world, then nobody need fear majority rule.

Our intention is not to lower standards of any kind or anybody.

We intend and we have planned to raise standards and expand opportunities for all our people without prejudice to anybody and to any section of the community.

We believe this is the only way to create a massive buying power for our people. This will, in turn, increase the internal consumption of our products and thereby stimulate our industrial and commercial activities.

We believe that with the existence here of an administration acceptable to all the African countries, we should be able to intensify and increase tremendously our export trade within Africa itself.

The fact that we are a comparatively industrialised country, coupled with our "acceptability", should place us in a position to be the chief exporting country in Africa.

The question now is how to get this majority rule which is indispensable for the creation of conditions that will bring us the Zimbabwe that I have described in the preceding paragraphs.

Mr Smith and his Rhodesian farmers believe that if they obtain independence, that will confer all powers upon the minority without any check, and all will be rosy in the Rhodesian garden.

He believes that once all ties with Britain are cut, African representatives of the majority of our population will then take orders from him, and they will no longer look to Britain for help.

This, of course, is a comfortable political dream.

If Mr Smith honestly believes in it, then I can only say, "May the Lord have mercy on his political soul."

Imposition of independence by such a minority will not change us even by one iota in our determined struggle against minority domination.

Instead, there will be perpetual resistance and rebellion against arbitrary action.

The country will be rejected by the entire world, except S. Africa and Portugal, and it will be a bad financial risk.

The overall effect will be that the present political and economic ills of the country will become a permanent feature, and it will be the White man, accustomed to a luxurious life, who will be hard hit.

The talk of a unilateral declaration of independence is similar to the well-known talk about the "Boston Tea-Party", of the days of Sir Roy Welensky and his now defunct Federation.

I hope the Europeans in this country will not allow themselves to be taken for another ride. The original Boston Tea Party succeeded, because the political, economic and international environment at that time favoured it.

Those who believe it can succeed in the present context of the international situation, and particularly here in S. Rhodesia, where at least 95 per cent of the people are prepared to fight it tooth and nail, are living in a cloud-cuckoo-land of make-believe.

Mr Smith with, I suppose, the advice of "Father Morris", is further deceiving himself or trying to deceive the world that he has African support.

He has taken about 30 African chiefs on a grand tour of some parts of the world,

Mr Smith should know that this once-important and dignified traditional institution of the African people has been reduced by legislation to almost nothingness.

Under the Native Affairs Act the chief was reduced to the status of the Native Commissioner's messenger.

This has undermined the position of the chief among the African people to such an extent that the chief no longer enjoys the prestige of a traditional leader that he once was.

He can only hope to regain his lost dignity and prestige when majority rule is achieved.

Mr Smith also talks glibly of "loyalty to the Queen, but not to the British Government."

This is an irresponsible talk by men who are supposed to be civilised and to know better and who claim to be up-holders of standards.

It does not seem to be known that the Queen is a constitutional Monarch.

That being the case, one cannot be loyal to the Queen, and not to her Government. All these things are aimed at confusing, and thus delaying, an early settlement of our problem.

We the leaders of the PEOPLE want a settlement, and we want it NOW. There are two ways by which this can be achieved.

(a) By a constitutional conference which will hammer out a constitution granting immediate majority rule. The conference must be presided over by Britain and attended by leaders of all effective political groups in the country.

(b) By the British Government using its powers over S. Rhodesia and legislating for the necessary change that will bring about peace and prosperity in the country. It is common knowledge that Britain has undoubted inherent powers to legislate for S. Rhodesia.

We regard statements by the British Government that she cannot interfere in the internal affairs of S. Rhodesia, as racial, unfair, timid and an intention to shirk her responsibilities. The interests of 95 per cent of the country's population cannot be regarded as an "internal affair" of 5 per cent of the country's population.

The assertion that Britain is prevented by a convention of long standing from intervening in the affairs of S. Rhodesia is erroneous.

First, a convention that fails to protect the interests of the majority as against those of the minority is null and void.

Second, this convention is supposed to prevent Britain from intervening in those matters that are within the legislative competence of S. Rhodesia; but a change in constitution is not within the legislative competence of S. Rhodesia.

Third, a convention has no legal validity. It is just an expedient device which can never transcend that which is legal.

That being so, we demand action by Britain NOW. She must do to S. Rhodesia what she has done to her former colonies.

We want to be afforded the opportunity to develop our country, and to improve the economic and social lot of all our people.

Any further delay on the part of Britain will destroy the country.

Since this is our country and the onus to build and develop it will always lie with us, we feel obliged to press Britain to take action NOW to prevent any further drain and destruction of our country.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN INDIA

by A. RAHMAN

SCIENCE and technology have become a major instrument of social and cultural advance. Consequently, the advanced countries are spending about 2 to 4 per cent of their national incomes on scientific and technological research. This investment repays itself many-fold by bringing about changes in industries, creating new ones and laying the foundations of still more.

The transformation of society and the rapid rate at which new developments are taking place are phenomenal. They pose major problems of adjustment between man and society and between one country and another. One of the consequences of these developments has been the widening of the gulf between the so-called developing and the advanced countries. The greater the scientific and technological advance, the wider is the gulf between them. This has far-reaching socio-economic, cultural and political consequences.

The developing countries have, therefore, no alternative but to give top priority to science and technology and invest heavily in order to catch up with the advanced countries. One factor in their favour is that their rate of growth can be faster till they reach a saturation point, like the advanced countries.

Perhaps some of these considerations made the late Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, give science and technology a pre-eminent position in the country at the time of independence. This led to a rapid development of scientific and technological research in the country and the creation of a base for science and technology. Efforts to promote science and technology were further reinforced by the Scientific Policy Resolution of the Government of India in 1958. This was a unique step. The Resolution not only declared the Government's faith in science and technology but also suggested active steps for its promotion. It may be worth-while to quote a few lines from the Resolution. It states:

"The key to national prosperity, apart from the spirit of the people, lies, in the modern age, in the effective combination of three factors: technology, raw materials and capital, of which the first is perhaps the most important since the creation and adoption of new scientific techniques can, in fact, make up for a deficiency in national resources, and reduce the demands on capital. But technology can only grow out of the study of science and its applications.

"It is only through the scientific approach and method and the use of scientific knowledge that reasonable material and cultural amenities and services can be provided for every member of the community, and

it is out of a recognition of this possibility that the idea of a welfare state has grown. It is characteristic of the present world that the progress towards the practical realisation of a welfare state differs widely from country to country in direct relation to the extent of industrialisation and resources applied in the pursuit of science.

“Science has developed at an ever-increasing pace since the beginning of the century so that the gap between the advanced and backward countries has widened more and more. It is only by adopting the most vigorous measures and by putting forward our utmost effort into the development of science that we can bridge the gap. It is an inherent obligation of a great country like India, with its traditions of scholarship and original thinking and its great cultural heritage, to participate fully in the march of science, which is probably mankind’s greatest enterprise today.”

After stating its policy in general terms, the Government clearly stated the specific steps it proposed to take, such as:

- (i) to foster, promote, and sustain, by all appropriate means, the cultivation of science, and scientific research in all its aspects—pure, applied and educational;
- (ii) to ensure an adequate supply, within the country, of research scientists of the highest quality and to recognise their work as an important component of the strength of the nation;
- (iii) to encourage, and initiate, with all possible speed, programmes for the training of scientific and technical personnel, on a scale adequate to fulfil the country’s needs in science and education, agriculture and industry, and defence;
- (iv) to ensure that the creative talent of men and women is encouraged and finds full scope in scientific activity;
- (v) to encourage individual initiative for the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge, and for the discovery of new knowledge, in an atmosphere of academic freedom;
- (vi) and, in general, to secure for the people of the country all the benefits that can accrue from the acquisition and application of scientific knowledge.

Since the passing of the Resolution in Parliament, meetings have been held to assess the progress made in the implementation of the resolution. One of these conferences, held in August 1963, made the following recommendations:—

1. The total allocation of resources for scientific research must be increased in terms of both manpower and finance. In terms of manpower there are at present approximately 15,000 persons engaged in scientific research in India. The aim should be to double this number within the next five years. This will require provision of additional funds and the conference is of the view that roughly one per cent of the total national income should be earmarked for scientific research.

2. While an increase in the allocation of resources is imperative,

measures must be taken to ensure that they are utilized in the most economic manner. There should be an appraisal of the work already done and future programmes should also be on the basis of definite projects undertaken within the framework of national programmes.

3. In order to ensure the most effective use of available material and human resources, it is necessary to set up an Advisory Body consisting of representatives of the major Government agencies, the Universities and non-official scientific organizations and independent scientists of eminence to survey the entire field, determine priorities and programmes and advise Government on the allocation of funds and projects to different bodies.

4. This conference is of the view that greater attention should be paid to the needs and requirements of universities and non-official agencies in order to achieve a proper and balanced development in the present and ensure an adequate supply of scientists in the future.

5. The conference recommends to Government to allocate to the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs an annual amount of Rs. 5 crores in foreign exchange to be utilized for import of scientific equipment and material needed for purposes of research. The Ministry may keep about 10 per cent out of this amount as a reserve to be distributed at its discretion and allot out of the remainder prescribed quotas to each university, national laboratory and other recognized centre so that the heads of such institutions can secure the necessary equipment or material without undue delay.

6. The conference requests Government to simplify the structure of scientific services and ensure greater mobility and internal democracy in order to achieve optimum conditions for creative work. Conditions of recruitment should be liberalized so as to give adequate recognition to actual achievement as established through published papers or completion of projects in addition to the academic qualifications which at present form the only basis of recruitment.

7. The conference welcomes attempts at greater collaboration between science and industry and recommends that there should be greater exchange of personnel between laboratories and industrial concerns. The conference recognizes the need for foreign collaboration in certain areas but is of the view that wherever Indian processes are available, they should be given the first preference. For this purpose, greater effort should be made for designing and fabricating our own equipment and machinery and developing consultative industrial advisory services with proper emphasis on operational research and productivity. Where lack of necessary development within the country compels foreign collaboration and use of imported processes, such collaboration should be utilized for developing an indigenous know-how.

This, I hope, would clearly show the aims and objectives of the Government with regard to science and technology and the steps taken to implement them.

A general idea of these policies could be had from the growth of

research expenditure in the country. In 1952-53, Government expenditure on scientific research was Rs. 121.88 million while in 1961-62 it rose to Rs. 469.16 million, i.e. nearly four times.

The table towards the end of the article gives in brief the expenditure in various years on the major sectors of research.

Having discussed the major deployment of resources it may be worthwhile to give a bird's eye-view of research work in the country.

The research in the country is organised under eight major heads. These are the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, the Department of Atomic Energy, the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, the Indian Council of Medical Research, Defence Science, universities and institutions of higher learning, special institutes under various State and Central Government departments and research in industry.

The Department of Atomic Energy conducts researches through the Atomic Energy Establishment, the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, the Tata Memorial Hospital and the Indian Cancer Research Centre. It has also a High Altitude Laboratory. Besides, it supports research at other institutions like the Saha Institute of Nuclear Physics of Calcutta and the Physical Research Laboratory at Ahmedabad. The Establishment is also in charge of the atomic power project, the atomic minerals division, Jaduguda mines and industrial operations run by the Indian Rare Earths Ltd. and Travancore Minerals Ltd.

There are three reactors in operation—APSARA, a Canada-India reactor, and Zerlina. It may be worth-while to emphasize that India has decided to work only on the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) sponsors researches at various institutions. Besides the ICAR, there are various committees which organise research in cotton, oil-seeds, jute, tobacco, coconut, and arecanut. The major research centre for agricultural research, however, is the Indian Agricultural Research Institute. There are, besides this institute, a number of research and extension stations.

The Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR), like the ICAR, is a research sponsoring organisation. It sponsors research at various research institutions and universities on medicine and public health problems. There are also a number of institutes which carry out research and extension work on communicable diseases.

Defence Science laboratories are organised under the Research and Development Organisation of the Ministry of Defence and examine special defence problems.

Fundamental research is carried out either as part of the regular programme at the universities or as sponsored research supported by outside agencies for specific schemes. The universities also have special research centres for intensive researches on specialised scientific topics.

A number of government departments, like the Ministries of Commerce and Industry, Health, Agriculture and others, have a number of

service and research institutes under them to meet very specific requirements in their respective fields. These institutions are supported both by the Central Government and the State Governments.

Some of the well-organised industries, in both the public and the private sector, carry out their own research. The quantum of investment and research is not much at present but it is rapidly growing with the growing needs of industry and greater research consciousness.

The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) is a major civil research organisation with 32 specialised research laboratories under its control. There are laboratories on specialised science topics like the National Physical Laboratory, the National Chemical Laboratory, commodity laboratories like the Central Fuel Research Institute, the Central Food Technological Research Institute, the Central Glass Research Institute, the National Metallurgical Laboratory, the Central Leather Research Institute, and multi-purpose laboratories like the regional research laboratories at Hyderabad, Jammu and Jorhat. In addition, the Council supports cooperative research laboratories like those in the textile and other industries. Half the resources of the cooperative laboratories are given by the CSIR and the other half by industry.

The CSIR, besides carrying out research, supports two institutions—the Publication and Information Directorate and INSDOC. The former is chiefly responsible for the publication of technical journals, including one on popular science, and an encyclopaedia, *The Wealth of India*. INSDOC—the Indian National Scientific Documentation Centre—meets the requirements of procurement of documents, microfilms, translations, etc. It proposes to establish a national science library.

It may be worth-while to give in some detail the broader perspective of the CSIR to give an idea of the framework in which science and technology are used and directed in India.

Active steps at the central headquarters of the CSIR and the laboratories are being taken to establish closer cooperation between the universities and the national laboratories. In this connection, it should be mentioned that the CSIR is actively trying to establish research centres in the universities with the help of the University Grants Commission. In addition to these centres, sponsored schemes and fellowships are given to the universities to enable University Science Departments to fully develop their research potential and utilize all available post-graduate workers. Besides, scientists who retire from university departments or national laboratories are given special grants to carry on their work and special Professors are appointed. Active steps are being taken for the exchange of teachers and research workers for short-term work and also for having joint programmes of research. Members of the staff of national laboratories are encouraged to teach in the universities and university teachers are encouraged to carry out research in the national laboratories.

One of the major problems of the developing countries like India is the

migration of scientists to the advanced countries, which provide them with a new stimulating atmosphere, better conditions of work, recognition and lucrative salaries. This problem has been dealt with to a very large extent by a unique scheme of Pool Officers through which Indian scientists abroad are offered pool posts and are attracted back to the homeland. Through this scheme, we have been able to get a very large number of Indian scientists who would not have otherwise returned home.

The CSIR is also taking active interest in organizing specialized training courses for industries and refresher courses for those who require them.

The problem of utilization of the results of research is an important and difficult one particularly for the under-developed countries. The CSIR, both at the laboratory level and at the headquarters, is trying to make a double-pronged attack to achieve results. Every possible effort is being made to disseminate technical know-how at the industry level. The scientists in the laboratories are encouraged to go out to the industries and help them solve their problems and bring back problems from the industries for further work and solution. The problem of utilization of results centres round the question of foreign collaboration with local industries. Foreign collaborators are in a position to offer not only engineering know-how but also complete plants, trained technical personnel and the prestige of their names. Consequently, active steps are being taken to have workshop facilities so that the processes completed at the national laboratories should be backed not only by pilot plant trials but also by the necessary capacity to fabricate small-scale plants. This work will be considerably facilitated by the establishment of a Design and Engineering Unit.

A special conference was organized last May to consider the problems of information, documentation and retrieval. It may, however, be worth mentioning here that active workers in the fields of information, documentation, utilization of the results of research, dissemination of information and operational research were invited to attend the conference and were given the task of arriving at specific conclusions which should serve as a basis for the organization of future work. Judging from the results of the conference, it was felt that the best way of arriving at decisions on problems was to invite active workers in the field and ask them to evolve a perspective and policy for future work.

One of the major developments in recent periods has been the promotion of the concept of planning of research in order to work out a research strategy and allocate resources based on priorities in the context of national development and requirements. Efforts are being made to work out an overall perspective based on certain studies of rate of growth and the trends of research. A beginning in this direction has been made by establishing a unit for the planning of scientific research. The effort in the allocation of resources is to ensure that a certain rate of growth, which is desirable in the context of the national situation, is maintained so that research is fruitful. Besides, those areas which are

important for the country but are neglected should get the necessary allocation of resources.

In addition to this overall perspective, researches are now being organized at the laboratory level on a project basis with definite time targets and priorities. All this effort is directed to making scientists more socially conscious of the work they are doing while providing at the same time a definite goal and a perspective for the research effort. The question of utilization of the results of research, the question of foreign exchange,

EXPENDITURE ON SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH BY THE CENTRE

(In million)

Year		Agricultural (including Commodity Committees)	Veterinary and Zoological Sciences	Scientific and Industrial Research		Geology, Mines, etc.	Medical
				CSIR	Others		
1952-53	Centre	17.45	3.37	20.16	2.23	4.14	2.27
	States	27.33	3.27	—	1.39	0.18	5.37
	Total	44.78	6.64	20.16	3.62	4.32	7.64
1955-56	Centre	31.63	4.04	18.22	1.21	6.00	5.66
	States	25.27	2.42	—	1.73	0.29	5.51
	Total	56.90	6.46	18.22	2.94	6.29	11.17
1957-58	Centre	38.41	7.54	35.54	4.04	10.10	11.11
	States	45.25	3.87	—	1.70	0.66	7.19
	Total	83.66	11.41	35.54	5.74	10.67	18.30
1958-59	Centre	32.52	9.80	43.59	5.18	8.69	10.05
	States	61.25	6.36	—	1.94	0.78	8.89
	Total	93.77	16.16	43.59	7.12	9.47	18.94
1959-60	Centre	42.66	10.79	62.39	3.59	13.16	15.71
	States	65.28	6.86	—	2.25	0.89	11.35
	Total	107.94	16.65	62.39	5.84	14.05	27.06
1960-61	Centre	45.48	11.61	67.95	3.36	16.62	22.54
	States	74.56	6.76	—	2.59	1.53	12.14
	Total	120.04	18.37	67.95	5.95	18.15	34.68
1961-62	Centre	39.16	18.54	81.22	4.00	19.27	20.17
	States	68.19	13.21	—	4.08	2.46	13.83
	Total	107.35	31.75	81.22	8.08	21.73	34.00

*"Others" include grants to scientific societies and government research departments

the question of instruments repair and maintenance and other general problems are being studied in detail to arrive at working solutions.

It may be mentioned that we are engaged at present in formulating the 4th Five-Year Plan for research and it may be worth-while to describe in a few lines the procedure being followed. Every laboratory is asked to work out a plan based on the assessment of the work done in the previous plan period. They are asked to select the major areas they would like to emphasize in the next 4th Plan period and work out specific

AND THE STATES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SECTORS

rupees)

Atomic Energy	Irrigation and Power	Economics and Statistics	Archives and Anthro- pology	Railways	Defence	Others*	Total
—	3.29	5.19	1.40	1.70	0.50	22.06	83.76
—	0.58	—	—	—	—	—	38.12
—	3.87	5.19	1.40	1.70	0.50	22.06	121.88
31.00	6.95	9.97	2.02	2.60	0.90	33.43	153.63
—	0.54	—	—	—	—	—	35.76
31.00	7.49	9.97	2.02	2.60	0.90	33.43	189.39
45.31	10.00	15.39	3.04	3.70	0.80	23.16	208.05
—	0.91	—	—	—	—	—	59.58
45.31	10.91	15.39	3.04	3.70	0.80	23.16	267.63
61.38	11.66	17.17	3.36	4.10	1.00	25.04	233.57
—	1.35	—	—	—	—	—	80.57
61.38	13.01	17.17	3.36	4.10	1.00	25.04	314.11
84.20	12.44	17.93	3.46	4.40	1.20	19.59	291.52
—	1.19	—	—	—	—	—	87.82
84.20	13.63	17.93	3.46	4.40	1.20	19.59	379.34
76.89	12.82	19.26	3.27	5.60	1.80	26.50	313.70
—	1.33	—	—	—	—	—	98.91
76.89	14.15	19.26	3.27	5.60	1.80	26.50	412.61
87.09	13.87	17.55	3.46	6.40	16.70	38.59	366.02
—	1.37	—	—	—	—	—	103.14
87.09	15.24	17.55	3.46	6.40	16.70	38.59	469.16

(All India Radio, Botanical Survey, Archaeological Survey, Zoological Survey, etc.).

projects and their priorities within those areas. This work is being done by research scientists in the laboratories and is approved by a Special Committee of their Executive Council. This is, in turn, examined by the Working Group of the Planning Commission, which is helping in the selection of problems and allocation of resources, taking the overall perspective into account. The Working Groups of the specialized sectors and research organizations in the country will finally meet to work out the overall plan for scientific research in the country for the next five years and to evolve a 15-year perspective.

The major problem of India, like that of other developing countries, is, however, the creation of a climate of public opinion favourable to science. Science and technology cannot progress unless the people have a scientific temper. To this task we are now devoting the resources of the country.

QUARTERLY CHRONICLE

India And Africa

That there is "very general and genuine friendliness" for India in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia is the impression formed by the Indian Vice-President, Dr Zakir Hussain, who visited these countries on a 20-day goodwill mission in June and July. He feels that there is ample scope for extending cooperation with them in the cultural and commercial spheres. It is necessary that the peoples of India and Africa, who are facing many common problems, should know each other better. This can be done by increasing contacts between them and exchanging students, artists and intellectuals.

Another abiding impression of Dr Zakir Hussain is that the Chinese propaganda against India in these countries has not been as effective as is made out by some people. Wherever Dr Hussain went, he was able to secure support and sympathy for India's efforts to meet the Chinese aggression and its willingness to enter into negotiations with China for the establishment of peace on its borders. The Tunisian leaders are understood to have told Dr Hussain that they fully appreciated India's stand on the Sino-Indian question and felt sorry that some countries did not realize the implications of the Chinese invasion and took a different attitude.

Dr Hussain's visit took the sting out of Pakistan's propaganda in these countries which has for its target the "plight" of Muslims in India. He pointed out that Muslims in India, who constitute the third largest Muslim population in the world, enjoyed equal rights with other communities and were taking their due share in the building up of a great democracy. The people in these countries could see for themselves a Muslim occupying an important place in the state hierarchy of India and speaking on behalf of the country. They were happy to learn that Muslim culture and religion were safe in India.

There was a greater understanding of India's stand on the Kashmir issue in these countries as a result of Dr Hussain's visit. On various occasions he stressed the friendly approach towards Pakistan adopted by India and its readiness to enter into talks with that country on this issue and related matters. He explained that the Kashmir problem was a matter between India and Pakistan and that any outside interference in it would complicate the question rather than help in settling it. He expressed the hope that through mutual understanding India and Pakistan would be able to relieve the tensions that had developed over the issue.

President Ben Bella and Dr Hussain, at a 60-minute meeting, emphasized the need for tightening social and economic sanctions against South Africa. Both leaders underlined the importance of Afro-Asian solidarity and expressed sympathy for the people of Mozambique and Angola struggling against Portuguese imperialism. President Ben Bella accepted Dr Hussain's invitation to visit India.

In Morocco, Dr Hussain had talks with King Hasan, who said these had resulted in strengthening the "permanent link" between the two countries and deepening the feelings of friendship between them. The King accepted an invitation to visit India. Dr Hussain also conferred with the Moroccan Foreign Minister, Mr Ahmed Reda Gendira, on the international situation with specific reference to the Maghreb countries. They also discussed the relations between India and Morocco, which are united by a common policy of non-alignment.

In Tunisia, Dr Hussain had a meeting with President Bourguiba, who supported India's proposal to invite the Soviet Union to participate in the second Bandung Conference (Russia has since decided not to attend the conference). President Bourguiba accepted an invitation to visit India. Mr Mongi Slim, Foreign Minister, is expected to visit India early next year. Earlier, speaking at a civic reception at Sousse, Dr Hussain said India was fully conscious of the friendship between President Bourguiba and the late Mr Nehru and would do everything possible to strengthen the brotherly links between the two countries. Addressing a Press conference, he expressed the hope that very soon there would be an exchange of students, teachers and youth leaders between India and Tunisia.

Measures to counter the Chinese propaganda against India in Africa were considered at a two-day conference which Mr Dinesh Singh, India's Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, had with the Indian High Commissioners in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika in Nairobi on July 12 and 13.

The conference was of the view that the best way to meet the Chinese challenge was for India to step up collaboration schemes with Africa, foster greater contacts at various levels and strengthen India's publicity services in African countries. There was general agreement that India could no longer take Africa for granted and that China's role vis-a-vis its financial aid to Africa had to be watched carefully.

During his visit to Africa Mr Dinesh Singh was accompanied by Mr A. K. Sen, India's Minister for Law and Social Security. Both attended Malawi's independence celebrations.

Addressing a Press conference in Nairobi on July 10, Mr Sen said Africans were free to receive aid from anywhere. India's policy on aid—both as recipient and as giver—was that it should have no strings attached to it. India's aid offers to Africa were a natural outcome of its philosophy and were not inspired by commercial considerations. India was offering this year 60 scholarships to Kenya Africans. It also offered

to train Africans in arts and crafts and industry, besides providing Kenya with the services of technical men.

Mr Sen said that India supported the liberation of all African countries and the principle of equality of all nations.

On the issue of Asians in East Africa, he said they should consider themselves nationals of their respective States. India believed in a multi-racial society.

On Kashmir he said India did not accept plebiscite as a solution of the problem because the country's constitution did not permit a constituent unit to secede. Pakistan wanted complete integration of the state with it as the only solution, "but the population of a state cannot be bartered away just because some leaders of a country want it".

An unofficial delegation of Indian Muslims, which visited some African countries recently, has returned home with the impression that there is in Africa a great deal of interest in Indian secularism and the position of Indian Muslims. The delegation said there were certain doubts in some quarters on these questions but these had been allayed by their talks. The delegation received great sympathy and support for India against the Chinese aggression. The delegation, which was led by Mr Sadiq Ali, Member of Parliament, visited Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Nigeria, the Lebanon, and the U.A.R.

Visitors from Africa

Mr J. S. Gichuru, Kenya's Minister for Finance and Economic Planning, arrived in India on August 25 on a six-day goodwill visit. While in Delhi he had talks with Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari, External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh, Commerce Minister Manubhai Shah, Industry and Supply Minister Dasappa and the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Mr Asoka Mehta.

At his meeting with Mr Shah, Mr. Gichuru explored the possibilities of starting joint ventures in Kenya, particularly sugar and cycle factories and light engineering enterprises. The two Ministers also discussed the prospects of Indian collaboration in Kenya's construction programme for irrigation and power projects, roads, highways and bridges. The question of India extending credit on a deferred payment basis to enable the purchase of machinery and equipment by Kenya industrialists was also considered. As a result of the discussions, a high-power delegation from Kenya has been invited to visit India for further discussions about projects in which India can assist Kenya. The possibility of India making available technical personnel to Kenya was also explored.

The Finance Minister of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Mr Paul Bomani, visited India in July. He met Prime Minister Shastri and the Finance Minister, Mr T. T. Krishnamachari, and discussed with them the question of economic and technical cooperation between the two

countries. Mr Bomani also met Mr Swaran Singh, Foreign Minister, Mr Manubhai Shah, Minister for Commerce, and members of the Planning Commission. Mr Bomani is understood to have sought India's help in establishing joint industrial ventures in his country. India is understood to have suggested that a technical delegation be sent to India which could discuss with the Government and industrialists specific spheres in which the Tanganyikan Government would need assistance.

Agreements with African Countries

India and the U.A.R. signed on September 28 an agreement for joint collaboration in producing supersonic Mach II combat aircraft. The U.A.R. has been developing the engine while India has been developing the airframe. The agreement aims at "marrying the two parts into an advance fighting machine," according to Mr S. S. Khera, India's Cabinet Secretary. Further steps will be taken to examine the question of implementing their resolve to assist each other and develop the aircraft. In pursuance of this the U.A.R. and India will exchange technical missions at an early date for further study and consultations. It is understood that the agreement provides ultimately for the production of the U.A.R.-developed engine in India.

On September 7 in New Delhi, India and the U.A.R. signed an agreement for close collaboration in the fields of science and technology. The agreement provides for exchange of scientists and technologists, grants of fellowships to scientists and advanced students of technology, import and export of scientific equipment and exchange of literature and publications between scientific documentation centres, libraries and museums in India and the U.A.R. The agreement, which is a supplement to the Indo-U.A.R. cultural agreement, was signed by Mr Ahmed Riad Turki, U.A.R. Minister of Scientific Research, and Mr M. C. Chagla, Indian Minister for Education.

India and the U.A.R. also signed in New Delhi on September 21 an agreement for greater economic, industrial and technical cooperation. Under the agreement they will not only establish joint projects in their countries but also explore the possibilities of jointly setting up projects in the developing countries of Asia and Africa. The agreement was signed on behalf of the U.A.R. by Dr Abdul Moneim el-Kaissouni, Vice-Premier, and on behalf of India by Mr Manubhai Shah, Commerce Minister.

Under an agreement signed in Kampala on September 18, India will establish four sugar factories and estates in Uganda in collaboration with the Uganda Government. The technical know-how, the machinery and managerial skill will be provided by India. The factories and estates will be owned by a Sugar Development Corporation. Indian participation in the equity capital of the corporation will be 45 per cent. The agreement was signed on behalf of Uganda by Mr A. A. Nekyon,

•

Minister for Planning and Community Development, and on behalf of India by Mr D. S. Joshi, Secretary to the Commerce Ministry, who led a delegation to Uganda.

India and South Africa

The Government of India in a Press Note have denied reports appearing in foreign newspapers that India is having trade relations with South Africa. These reports are completely baseless and unfounded. It is a well-known fact that India was the first country to break off trade relations with South Africa as far back as 1946 as a protest against the racial policies of that country. India also withdrew its High Commissioner and closed down the Indian Mission in that country in 1954.

In pursuance of the U. N. General Assembly Resolution of November 7, 1962, India imposed a total ban on trade with that country.

There have been no exports from India of such items as tea, wool and animal hair, etc., or, for that matter, of any product of commercial value.

Reports alleging that India is having trade relations with South Africa have come from interested sources only. To quote an example, such an allegation was made by Pakistan in the Security Council in May 1964, which India's Education Minister, Mr M. C. Chagla, strongly refuted in the Security Council meeting of May 12, 1964, in the following words: "It is completely false to say that we have done any business with South Africa. In Document A/Ac. 115/L.55 dated March 5, 1964, referred to by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, there are figures given of exports by India to South Africa. The fact of the matter is that products of Indian origin might have gone to South Africa from third countries. I repeat that there is and has been no trade between India and South Africa. We were the first to cut off diplomatic and commercial relations with that country."

The small value of a few products shown in United Nations statistics as furnished by South African publications are presumably based on the country of origin of third country exports. Personal effects carried by travellers between India and South Africa may also account for the so-called exports.

The Second African Summit

The second African summit in Cairo had two great themes: the achievement of African unity and the liberation of the non-independent parts of Africa. On the first issue no great progress was made but the conference helped in clarifying the main obstacles in the way of African unity. The conference was faced with the necessity of choosing between the gradual and the activist approach. As at Addis Ababa, so at Cairo, the former prevailed.

•

The activist school of thought was led by Dr Nkrumah, who strongly advocated the formation of a pan-African federation. He was opposed by Mr Nyerere, who made a strong plea for attaining unity in particular spheres before any grand design was attempted. He feared that if the big political scheme failed, it would hinder practical cooperation in everyday affairs. He ridiculed Dr Nkrumah's idea of a Union Government of Africa with none of the states losing its sovereignty. To have a Government of Africa, he said, there should be a single state, with all the attributes of a sovereign state.

Defending his plan for a "United States of Africa," Dr Nkrumah said only such a Government could guarantee Africa's survival. He declared that the only difference between African states on the issue was about the urgency and not the necessity of such a union. He said he was convinced of the necessity of immediate union. Border disputes between states would not exist if there was such a union. "If we allow ourselves to be Balkanized, we shall be colonized," he warned.

The discussion on this theme would have been more fruitful if it had not acquired the overtones of personal acrimony. Dr Nkrumah had said that "neo-colonialists" were preaching the dangerous doctrine of a step-by-step unity, to which Mr Nyerere had replied: "To rule out step-by-step progress is to rule out unity itself."

While Algerian President Ben Bella gave qualified support to Dr Nkrumah's proposal, Sierra Leone President Albert Marghai and Dahomey President Apithy suggested that the question be submitted to a committee for study. Nigeria's Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, and Liberian President William Tubman described the proposal as premature. Mr Marghai suggested that African states should experiment on the feasibility of a "union Government" in the fields of tariffs, communications and cultural exchanges.

On the other main issue before the conference, the results achieved were more fruitful. One of them was the ban on the use of facilities to ships and aircraft travelling to South Africa. But the real problem of devising ways and means of liberating Portuguese territories in the near future remained as baffling and intractable as before. Both Malwai and Northern Rhodesia admitted that a boycott of the adjoining Portuguese colonies would put them in a difficult economic position. The conference, however, decided to increase its support for nationalist guerillas in Portuguese territories. It decided against increasing the size of the committee of nine working on liberating the non-independent territories. The conference accepted a report calling the present African borders inviolable unless changed by peaceful means. Morocco and Somalia voted against the report.

The summit "vowed to take vigorous and immediate steps" against any unilateral declaration of independence of Southern Rhodesia by a European minority Government. Members said they would support an African nationalist Government should such a necessity arise. They

called on Britain to convene a conference of all political parties in Southern Rhodesia to prepare a new constitution to ensure majority rule on the basis of one-man-one-vote and demanded the release of all political prisoners.

On the question of apartheid the conference adopted a resolution (a) requesting the cooperation of all countries in the boycott of South Africa; (b) appealing to all oil-producing countries to cease their supply of petroleum products to South Africa; and (c) calling for the release of Nelson Mandela and others imprisoned or detained in South Africa.

Nearly 30 independent African countries took part in the summit, which opened on July 17. By stepping aside, Mr Tshombe helped in warding off a major crisis. Several African leaders, who considered Mr Tshombe's record an affront, had warned that they would not sit with him at the conference table. The decision to keep him out was interpreted by the Congo as an interference in its internal affairs contrary to the principle that the Organization of African Unity must accept each African Government as it finds it. This view was supported by some of the participants.

In a message to President Nasser, President Radhakrishnan of India said. "I have much pleasure in sending our cordial greetings and best wishes on the occasion of the second conference of African heads of State, to Your Excellency personally and to the eminent heads of State and Governments now assembled in Cairo. We were deeply impressed by the results of the first conference in laying the foundations of African unity and we are convinced that at the present meeting the striking results already achieved will be consolidated and will thereby help in the liberation of those parts of Africa which are not yet free and promote the interests of progress and development and world peace."

In his key-note address opening the conference, President Nasser pledged Egypt's solidarity with Africa's objectives—progress, prosperity and peace. He stressed the four dangers threatening African countries: (1) disappearance of leaders, (2) loss of proper drive, (3) slowing down of liberation movements, and (4) return of imperialism.

Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta called for the creation of a special bureau for directing an all-out offensive against South Africa. He said the recent decision of the South African Government to spend more on arms purchases had increased the threat to free African territories. Africa could not be free when Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique continued to be under foreign domination. In East Africa the European community was still striving to undermine our common market, our common service. He called for improvement in communications between East and West Africa.

Nigerian Premier Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa called for the convening without delay of a constitutional conference on Southern Rhodesia and the release of all political prisoners and detainees without any condition.

•

Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia warned that a long road remained to be travelled to the goal of African unity. He warned that Africa's borders must not be changed arbitrarily. In Addis Ababa, he said, it became clear that by accepting the borders "bequeathed to us by the colonialists" no permanent peace could be achieved on the continent.

President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia said it was inconsistent for the African leaders to call for a boycott of South Africa without joining the Arab boycott of Israel. President Sekou Toure of Guinea spoke on the evils of colonialism and the need for continuing the revolutionary struggle in Africa. President Tubman of Liberia urged adoption of an agreement or arbitration, mediation and conciliation of disputes between African States.

Sudanese President Ibrahim Abboud advocated an African Common Market. Referring to the expulsion of missionaries from the Sudan, he said this had been necessary because the priests had engaged themselves in politics.

Commonwealth Conference

Sharp differences on Southern Rhodesia between Britain and the African members of the Commonwealth were revealed at the Commonwealth Conference, which concluded in London on July 15. The final communique, issued after many hours of preparation, incorporated both the British and African views.

The stand taken by Britain was that Southern Rhodesia would attain full sovereignty as soon as her governmental institutions were sufficiently representative. Sir Alec Douglas-Home however emphasized that the South Rhodesian Government was constitutionally responsible for the internal affairs of that territory and that the question of the granting of independence was a matter for the British Parliament to decide. He said Britain could not call a constitutional conference without prior consultation with Mr Ian Smith, who had been invited to come to London. Sir Alec assured the African Prime Ministers that Britain would not recognize any unilateral declaration of independence. He described the differences on Southern Rhodesia as those of timing and not of principle.

The African view, as expressed in the communique, was that an independence conference should be convened which the leaders of all political parties in Southern Rhodesia should be free to attend. The object would be to seek agreement on the steps by which Southern Rhodesia might proceed to independence within the Commonwealth at the earliest practicable time on the basis of majority rule. With a view to diminishing tensions and preparing the way for such a conference an appeal was made for the release of all the detained African leaders. The Prime Ministers called upon all leaders and their supporters to exercise moderation and to abstain from violence; and they affirmed the

belief that the best interests of all sections of the population lay in developing confidence and cooperation, on the basis of tolerance, mutual understanding and justice.

Mr Jomo Kenyatta, who was believed to have introduced the African submission on Southern Rhodesia, referred to the possibility of joint Commonwealth intervention by military forces if things went from bad to worse. He offered to send a contingent of troops from Kenya. Both President Nyerere and Mr Jomo Kenyatta declared that they expected a constitutional conference to be held in the not too distant future. President Nyerere said Britain insisted on stressing her sole responsibility on Southern Rhodesia because she would not accept other countries telling her what to do and not because she disagreed with the demand for a constitutional conference. But several African delegates did not subscribe to this view.

President Nkrumah said that the impression that the conference left the question of Southern Rhodesia entirely to the British Government was wrong, although Britain had an ultimate responsibility in Southern Rhodesia. The present situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted a violation of Britain's responsibility under Article 73 of the U. N. Charter. In a document published before the opening of the conference, the Ghana Government expressed the view that Britain had an inescapable responsibility in directing the evolution of the European settler colony of Southern Rhodesia towards an independent Government with a universal franchise, based on the oft-proclaimed British principle of one-man-one-vote.

The Prime Ministers reaffirmed their condemnation of the policy of apartheid practised by South Africa. Some of them felt very strongly that the only effective means of dealing with the problem was the application of economic sanctions and an arms embargo.

On the Portuguese African territories, the Prime Ministers expressed their regret that Portugal had not given recognition to the principle of self-determination for her territories.

Moving references to the death of Mr Nehru were made at the inaugural session of the conference on July 8 by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, who said that Mr Nehru was the maker of the Commonwealth, and by Mr Lester Pearson, Mr Jomo Kenyatta and others.

Nyerere Accepts Chinese Aid

The decision of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar to accept Chinese military aid was described as a "little attempt to be non-aligned" by President Nyerere at a Press conference on August 31.

Mr Nyerere explained that after the January troubles, a new army had to be trained. The decision was made not to get too involved with or too dependent on any country, particularly big countries, in training a new army. He said he tried to get assistance on a technical level in

•

the use of arms from small countries. Sweden had declined to give such aid bilaterally, saying it preferred to give such aid through the U.N. He had tried non-aligned countries but found it difficult everywhere. The Chinese offer was the nearest thing to what he wanted. They had given him 11 people—seven instructors and four interpreters.

Earlier, in an interview with Mr Colin Legum of the "Observer", London, published on Aug. 30, Mr Nyerere had said that "ideally I would have preferred to see our army trained by a joint Commonwealth mission. But my efforts to achieve this did not succeed."

Mr Nyerere said the western nations should respect decisions made by the United Republic and not try to bring pressure to bear on it. The Western powers, he added, were asking him if he realized the risks he was taking. "The maximum risk is that the army will revolt. My army revolted in January. It was not trained by the Chinese."

Referring to the Zanzibar revolution, he said the Western countries had put an interpretation on it which had nothing to do with the facts. "They knew all the time what was happening there. In spite of this, a simple nationalist revolution became a communist revolution. He asked what the Zanzibar Government was supposed to do when faced with the possibility of a counter-revolution. They accepted military aid from Russia and China. They had no choice.

He said he was being told that the Chinese were aiming at Tanganyika from Burundi. That was rubbish. "I do not like it. I do not like pressure." The Chinese, he continued, would train the army in the use of arms for a period not exceeding six months—a time-limit they themselves had insisted on.

The President pointed out that the United Republic had recently signed a five-year agreement with West Germany for training an air wing. "Nobody has questioned me on this. Not a single communist country has come to me to say why. And no western country has raised the question."

He added that India had its differences with China but she was not among those countries which had asked why he was accepting Chinese military aid. He had accepted aid from Israel, with whom the Arab countries had strained relations, but no Arab country had tried to bring pressure or question him on this.

Mr Colin Legum, reporting on his interview with Mr Nyerere, had said that it was an open secret that negotiations were proceeding with the U.S. for a training programme to provide an enlarged and modernized police force. Russia and East Germany were already engaged in training the army of Zanzibar under agreements made before the Union was signed last April. It was understood that nearly 60 Russian and East German instructors were in Zanzibar, training about 600 men,

including a number of Tanganyikan officers. In a separate military camp in the island, the Chinese were training a further 300 Zanzibaris.

The Return of Mr Tshombe

Events in the Congo have moved swiftly since June 30 when the U.N. troops were withdrawn from the rebellion-torn state.

On that day Mr Adoula resigned as Premier and President Kasavubu announced in a broadcast marking the fourth anniversary of Congolese freedom that he was taking over the Supreme Command of the army, a move apparently aimed at insulating the army from the political pressures that were to develop in the next few days. Although Mr Adoula had been renamed to head a caretaker government, which was to remain in office until the appointment of a government to prepare for the national elections, it was clear to most observers that his political career was at an end. Mr Adoula had himself known this. In a broadcast on June 26, the day Mr Tshombe returned to Leopoldville from his self-imposed exile in Europe, he had said: "I am finished, I am alone."

It was therefore no surprise that President Kasavubu on July 1 selected Mr Tshombe to consult various political groups with a view to forming a new government. On July 10 he was sworn in as Prime Minister. Soon after assuming office, Mr Tshombe announced that he would rely chiefly on negotiations rather than military efforts to end the revolts in North Katanga, Kwilu and Kivu. He however ordered several thousand Katangese gendarmes to leave their bases in neighbouring Angola and return to the Congo. He protested to Peking against its interference in the Congo's affairs by aiding anti-government rebels.

In pursuance of this policy of reconciliation, Mr Antoine Gizenga, the leftist former Vice-Premier and Mr Lumumba's principal aide, was released. On arrival in Leopoldville on July 16 he was reported to have pledged himself to work for reconciliation. On July 23 Mr Tshombe lifted the state of emergency in Kivu and urged its people to get back to work. He called on the rebels to quit their foreign masters.

The return of Mr Tshombe to the Congo was bitterly criticized by the Soviet Union which, in a statement on July 7, described it as a direct challenge to the U.N. and a threat to the territory's peace.

Mr Tshombe, who had earned the bitter enmity of African leaders during Katanga's bid to secede from the Congo and whose name had been associated with the murder of Mr Lumumba, was prevented from attending the Cairo summit meeting of the African heads of State opening on July 17. He said vehemently that other African States had no right to judge the Congolese for choosing him Premier of a transitional government of national reconciliation.

On August 2 the Congo's new constitution came into force. The constitution had won the approval of the people in a referendum

which began on July 10. Under the new constitution, President Kasavubu became the nation's chief executive with powers to dismiss the Prime Minister and his Cabinet. The President will rule the country until new elections are held—not later than nine months. A new President will be elected six months after the new Parliament has assembled. Official returns said 2,368,000 had voted in the referendum. The Congo's population is about 150 million.

A fortnight after assuming office as Prime Minister, Mr Tshombe undertook a 3,500-mile provincial tour during which he visited Bukavu, Stanleyville, Goma and some other places. Everywhere he was received enthusiastically. In Stanleyville he laid a wreath at the monument of his former rival, Mr Patrice Lumumba, and was cheered when he addressed a rally of 4,000. In Bukavu, he paid visits to the leaders of the Ngweshe and Kabare tribes, who had been carrying on a feud for years. He returned to Leopoldville on July 28.

But the trip had begun under a cloud. As he took off from Leopoldville, rebels in Mariema province seized the capital of Kindu. As politicians in Leopoldville talked of reconciliation, the rebellion in the eastern Congo was spreading. The military situation continued to deteriorate and Stanleyville, the key city of the northern Congo, was captured by the rebels on August 5. In Kivu province, reports were received that Bukavu, the provincial capital, might be attacked any moment. In Northern Katanga, the rebels were reported on July 29 to have advanced to Kongolo.

Diplomatic reports in Leopoldville said that the main driving force behind the rebels appeared to be military personnel from China. Gen. Kin-me, a guerilla specialist, was said to be responsible for the strategy that had produced sweeping victories for the rebels.

Alarmed at the worsening situation, the U.S. announced on August 12 that four American transport aircraft carrying about 100 men were on their way to the Congo to provide possible logistical support for Mr Tshombe's hardpressed troops. A day earlier Mr Mennen Williams, U.S. Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, left Washington for consultations with Mr Tshombe. It was strongly felt in Washington that other African countries must be persuaded to go to Mr Tshombe's help. In his talks with Mr Tshombe, Mr Williams was understood to have assured him that the U.S. was prepared to lend him all the material and logistic support it could. But Mr Williams also appealed to Mr Tshombe to appeal for troops from other countries.

On August 18 Mr Williams said on arrival in Leopoldville that the U.S. would help pay for troops from other African countries. Mr Tshombe made an urgent appeal for troops from Nigeria, Ethiopia, Senegal, Liberia and Madagascar, but it made little headway. Emperor Haile Selassie was inclined to assist Mr Tshombe but only if other nations followed suit and the O.A.U. approved.

Nigeria replied with a conditional "yes." Moreover, the Prime Minister wanted all Nigerian battalions to remain in Nigeria until after the elections in November. Madagascar, which has a small army, took the same line as Ethiopia. There was no word on the attitude of Senegal. Liberia said it wanted to help, but could not do so because its army was too small and ill-equipped.

Mr Tshombe then approached U Thant to intervene personally and directly with the Congo (Brazzaville) Government to persuade it to stop helping the rebels. Mr Tshombe also complained, in a note on August 20, that China, among other foreign powers, was exploiting the situation. The note alleged that Chinese embassies had conducted subversive activities and provided support to the rebels in the form of supplies and men. He added that Ilyushin aircraft from China were reported to have arrived in Stanleyville. On August 26 it was learnt that U Thant had refused Mr Tshombe's request for political assistance, saying such an intervention was beyond his competence. The Soviet Union attacked U.S. and Belgian "armed interference" in the Congo in a statement issued on August 25. Mr Tshombe announced on September 4 that he would appeal to the O.A.U. to help rid his country of foreign subversive elements. He declared that foreign mercenaries helping his troops would be sent home. Many O.A.U. members were reported to be in favour of condemning Mr Tshombe for bringing in white mercenaries, mainly from South Africa.

Another important political development that took place at this time was that Mr Antoine Gizenga, the left-wing leader, declared a political war on Mr Tshombe. In a statement on August 28, he announced the formation of a new political party, the United Lumumbist Party.

Meanwhile the Congolese army successfully defended Bukavo. This was its first substantial victory in months. It also captured Albertville, capital of the North Katanga province, which the rebels had held since June.

Reliable sources in Leopoldville confirmed that there were about 250 mercenaries assembled at the Kamina base in Katanga. Most of them had been recruited in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and among them were Britons, Germans, Frenchmen, Belgians, Greeks, and Italians. It was assumed that at least some of them were in the force which captured Albertville, which had been the main rebel stronghold and capital of the Revolutionary Government of the Eastern Congo headed by "President" Soumialot.

On September 7 the rebels announced the formation of the "People's Republic of the Congo" with Mr Christophe Gbenye, Minister of the Interior in the Congo's first independent Government formed by the late Patrice Lumumba in 1960, as Prime Minister.

THE RIVONIA TRIAL

We give below a report of the Rivonia trial, which will be recorded as one of the darkest chapters in the history of race relations in South Africa. With the passing of sentences on Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the freedom movement hopes of racial co-operation in the country have received a serious setback. The trial, which was a travesty of justice, has had widespread repercussions. An enlightened world opinion has already given the verdict that the ultimately guilty party is the Government of South Africa. But world Governments have yet to take such action as will avert what can become a great African tragedy.

—Editor

ON October 9, 1963, in a heavily-guarded courtroom in Pretoria stood 11 men on trial for their lives. Seven of them were charged with being members of the national high command of a revolutionary movement to overthrow the Government. They were Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Lionel Bernstein, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Denis Goldberg and Raymond Mhlaba.

The remaining four were James Kantor, lawyer; Bob Alexander Hepple, former law lecturer; and two Africans, Elias Matsoaledo and Andrew Mlangeni. They were alleged to have committed acts of sabotage in conjunction with the Communist Party of South Africa and fifteen other people, including Arthur Goldreich and Harold Wolfe, who escaped to Britain.

Of the seven accused of being members of a national high command, all except Mandela, who was in prison, were captured in a police raid on the Goldreich farm in Rivonia, near Johannesburg, on July 11. Nelson Mandela, who had been living underground since March 1961, was captured in July 1962, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment for his part in leading the three-day general strike of the previous May, and for leaving the country illegally thereafter to visit the African states. Walter Sisulu, former secretary-general of the African National Congress, was sentenced to six years' imprisonment early in 1963 for furthering the aims of the A. N. C. Placed under 24-hour-a-day house arrest pending his appeal against this sentence, he left home and lived underground as an outlaw. Other well-known A. N. C. leaders, particularly in their home area, the Eastern Cape Province, were Govan Mbeki and Raymond Mhlaba.

Lionel ('Rusty') Bernstein and Dennis Goldberg were prominently associated with the Congress of Democrats, the 'white' organisation which—until it was outlawed two years ago—strove against the stream of racial intolerance and dared to associate itself openly with the African National Congress. Both had been placed under house arrest by

Minister Vorster. So, also, had Ahmed ('Kathy') Kathrada, outstanding leader of the South African Indian Congress, closely associated with the A. N. C. He, too, had defied his house-arrest order and was living underground.

These men had long been colleagues in the movement for a democratic South Africa. Mandela, Sisulu, Kathrada and Bernstein were among the accused in the treason trial of 1956-61. All seven had been imprisoned for months without charge or trial during the 'state of emergency' of 1960.

Since the Rivonia arrests the accused had been held for interrogation under the 'no-trial' law (General Law Amendment Act of 1963).

When the 11 accused appeared in court on October 9, Mr. Abraham Fischer, appearing for most of them, asked for a remand of at least a month. He said that after 88 days of solitary confinement, interrogations, threats and attempted bribery, they were not in a fit state to stand trial. Mandela, a robust man and amateur boxer, had lost at least 30 pounds in weight. Sisulu also, though he had been to jail many times, had the appearance of having endured a terrible ordeal, and so did nearly all the others¹.

The prosecutor, Dr. Yutar, opposed Mr. Fischer's application, but the Judge, Mr Justice de Wet, allowed a postponement until October 29.

"Ever since the Rivonia raid of July 11, the South African police and press had been preparing the scene for the most dramatic 'conspiracy trial' ever held in South Africa². It was plain that they expected the trial to have the most widespread repercussions, rallying the white population in panic behind the Verwoerd regime, intimidating the non-whites and their white supporters into submission, and 'justifying' the extreme police-state measures which had drawn universal condemnation upon their authors, in particular upon the well-known Nazi supporter Balthazar J. Vorster, Minister of Justice.

"The trial had immediate and widespread repercussions—both in South Africa and abroad. But these were not precisely what the South African authorities wanted or anticipated. Far from being intimidated, the masses of African people rallied in support of their threatened leaders, whom they regarded not as criminals but as heroes and men of integrity. Many supporters defied the police guards and attended the courtroom clothed in the traditional gold-black-green Congress colours. Illegal leaflets appeared throughout the country."

Abroad the opening of the trial touched off a widespread demonstration against apartheid and repression in South Africa.

Within 24 hours the United Nations Special Political Committee on Apartheid asked the General Assembly to take urgent action, after hearing Mr. Oliver Tambo, Deputy President of the African National Congress.

1. South Africa on Trial, published by the African National Congress.

2. *Ibid.*

"By a significant coincidence," Mr Tambo said, "this, the first day of this Committee's discussions of the policy of apartheid, happens also to be the first day of a trial in South Africa which constitutes yet another challenge to the authority of the United Nations and which has as its primary aim the punishment by death of people who are among South Africa's most outstanding opponents of the very policies which the General Assembly and the Security Council have in numerous resolutions called upon the South African Government to abandon.

"I cannot believe that this world body, the United Nations, could stand by, calmly watching what I submit is genocide masquerading under the guise of a civilised dispensation of justice. The African and other South Africans who are being dragged to the slaughter-house face death or even life imprisonment, because they fearlessly resisted South Africa's violations of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, because they fought against a Government, armed to the teeth and relying on armed force, to end inhumanity, to secure its liberation of the African people, to end racial discrimination, and to replace racial intolerance and tyranny with democracy and equality, irrespective of colour, race or creed."

A resolution sponsored by 55 African and Asian countries was adopted, by a great majority, for submission to the General Assembly.

The following day, October 11, by a spectacular majority, the General Assembly adopted a resolution, which :

condemned the Verwoerd Government for its "repression of persons opposing apartheid," and called upon it "to abandon forthwith the arbitrary trial now in progress;" and "forthwith to grant unconditional release to all political prisoners and to all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions for having opposed the policy of apartheid."

The voting on this resolution was described by the correspondent of the London *Times* as "a remarkable demonstration of well-nigh universal detestation of South Africa's racial policies."

One hundred and six countries voted in favour. Only one (the representative of South Africa itself) voted against.

Nine countries which had abstained the day before in the political committee—they included the U. S. A., France and the United Kingdom—decided to vote in favour. No countries registered a vote 'abstaining'—and only four members of the United Nations absented themselves from this vote. They were Portugal, Spain, Honduras and Paraguay.

But the Verwoerd Government ignored the United Nations and went ahead with the trial.

On October 30 the indictments against the accused were quashed by the Judge President of the Transvaal, Mr Justice Quartus de Wet, on the ground that the State had failed to give the accused sufficient information about the charges against them. Earlier, it had been announced in court that all charges against Bob Alexander Hepple, who would appear as a

state witness, had been withdrawn.

In giving his decision the Judge said he was satisfied that the information the accused men asked for should be given and the indictment could not stand in the absence of that information. It was not the function of the Court to draw an indictment for the State.

He said that if the application for quashing was not granted it was possible that "the ridiculous position will be reached of the defence having to ask for an adjournment after each State witness has given evidence." The accused should be able to prepare for a trial before the trial began.¹

On the following day the ten accused were brought into the magistrate's court again and immediately remanded in custody for summary trial before the Supreme Court on November 12. The Guardian (October 31) commented: "This is a serious humiliation for the Minister of Justice, Mr Vorster, and his law officers. . . Once it was decided to stage a series of 'show' trials it was important that the first of them should run smoothly. The State will have to live down the fiasco of the treason trial, which ended after more than four years in the acquittal of the remaining accused.

"A conviction is not necessary in South Africa except for propaganda purposes. A man may be more conveniently detained for successive periods of ninety days under the No-Trial Act. It is therefore tempting to say that court processes there are of no account. This is not true. The State evidently felt it had much to gain by letting the world see the revolutionary purposes of the South African nationalist movement exposed. The ninety-day clause is not easy to defend against criticism from such bodies as the International Commission of Jurists. Mr Vorster by-passed the judges by administrative detention and has reduced their powers by enacting statutory sentences. But he has not yet succeeded either in doing without them or in making them bend to his will."

Mary Benson, writing in the Observer (November 10), said: "Next Tuesday, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu will once again be among those on trial in South Africa. At this time, when the charges against them are graver than ever before, may I remind your readers of the heroism of these men in their long struggle against the tyranny of the South African Government? Theirs has been a struggle the more admirable for the extraordinary humanity of its methods, pursued ever since they were young men in 1943, despite great self-sacrifice to themselves and their families. It has been a struggle which the Government has tried to crush with ever more ferocity, until it has driven its opponents reluctantly into a more conventional revolutionary pattern."

The trial resumed in Pretoria on November 25. On December 3 it was resumed after the Judge-President, Mr Justice de Wet, had dismissed an application to quash the second indictment on the ground that there was a lack of particularity. When the charges were read to each of the

1. *The Times*, October 31, 1963.

accused in turn, all except James Kantor added statements alleging that the Government was responsible for what had happened.

Opening the proceedings, the prosecuting counsel, Dr Percy Yutar, gave the court details of vast quantities of explosives which were, he alleged, to be used to commit acts of destruction followed by guerrilla activity and military invasion. The ultimate object was a "war of liberation and the setting up of a provisional revolutionary government. He said the case would be based on a selection of documents found at Rivonia and oral testimony from about 200 witnesses. Dr Yutar said the alleged plot was the work of the banned African National Congress, but the Communist Party completely dominated it. Police had found evidence that the accused had been promised assistance from Moscow and had studied guerrilla warfare in Algeria, Cuba and China.

The first witness, Edith Kogane, a housemaid with Mr and Mrs. Goldreich, indentified some of the accused as visitors at the farm. She later said that she had been arrested on July 11 and had been in solitary confinement since October 8. On the day she was put in solitary confinement she had been told by police that if they were satisfied with her answers she would be set free, but otherwise she would be locked up for ninety days. Another witness, who had worked at Rivonia, Thomas Mashifane, after giving evidence, said that he had been beaten up by the police after he had given his statement. He had been kicked and hit.

Another witness, described as Mr X, gave evidence *in camera* of sabotage acts in which he had taken part. He had done so on the instruction of the Regional Command in Durban, acting under the national high command at Rivonia. He had been trained in Communist ideology and taught that he must overthrow the Government by war and fighting. A lengthy document marked "Top Secret" was read. It was in Goldreich's handwriting and detailed a plan for revolution in South Africa. It dealt with the problems of transferring armaments by sea and detailed the tasks of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) in sabotage, though it said, "We do not believe that sabotage alone can topple the Government, but it can further isolate the White Government."

Bob Alexander Hepple, who was reported to have turned State's witness and was to have been a leading prosecution witness, fled to Dar-es-Salaam a few days before the trial opened. James Kantor was granted bail of £ 5,000 at his third application.

On January 15, Mr T. O. Kellock¹, an English barrister who attended the opening stages of the trial for the Defence and Aid fund, held a Press conference in London. He said that in the second indictment a list of 193 cases of sabotage was given and the names of 169 persons alleged to be agents and servants of the accused; but it did not say which of the accused or co-conspirators were alleged to have done what. It gave no particulars of meetings or instructions. Although some particulars of moneys in an

1. Africa Digest, London.

account were given, there were no details of why these moneys were alleged to be improperly used or obtained. Mr Kellock said that the only particulars given were so general that they did not, in his opinion, enable the defence to be prepared in advance of the trial. This was a "highly unsatisfactory manner in which to conduct a case of this importance."

He referred to the statement by sixty leading medical specialists in South Africa which described ninety-day detainees' condition as "inhuman and unjustifiable". "The witnesses appear in court from protective custody and are to be released after giving evidence. Some of them have said in evidence that they originally refused to agree to the suggestions put to them by their interrogators, but they finally agreed. As the case is continuing it is impossible to state what value the Judge will give each of these witnesses, but . . . it is hard to see that their evidence is of any value at all."

The trial resumed on January 13, 1964, after a recess of three weeks. Some of the points to emerge during these weeks were: The defence made it clear that certain of the accused would not deny some of the allegations made against them; a State witness admitted giving conflicting evidence at different trials; servants and labourers from the farm at Rivonia were held for seven months; after serving their ninety-day term, they were detained for a further four months before being called to give evidence; State witnesses alleged assault by the police and warders when making statements. A number of secret witnesses were called to give evidence for the State. Their anonymity was protected and their evidence was reported in the Press under the pseudonyms of Mr X., Mr Y., etc. A detective said that the ninety-day law was being used not only for the purpose of questioning suspects, but also to prevent people from "meddling."

Defence counsel said Nelson Mandela would admit having met the members of the Natal regional command in Durban. He would admit having told them that the African National Congress campaign would be divided into two phases. The first would be sabotage. If this was ineffective—if the Government would not "listen"—guerrilla warfare would be considered.

The first witness after the trial resumed was Essop Suliman, who had given evidence before the Christmas recess. He was recalled for cross-examination by the defence. He admitted that he had given evidence which conflicted with the evidence on the same subject in other trials. Suliman told the court of the several trips he had made to the Bechuanaland border, to convey young Africans who were travelling to other African states to receive military training.

Suliman admitted that his evidence as to dates of the trips and the names of the people who employed him, given in the first three cases, differed from his evidence in the present case.

The State's case was concluded on March 3 and the trial was postponed until April 7.

On March 4, Mr James Kantor was discharged, as the Judge President, Mr Justice Quartus de Wet, decided there was no case against him.

Writing from Johannesburg Anthony Sampson¹ said: "The accused have listened, over the last three months, to the evidence of 174 witnesses, and the recital of 500 documents. They look remarkably calm and undeterred: Nelson Mandela, in apparent good health, exchanges occasional comment with his neighbour Walter Sisulu. The 'cornerstone' of the prosecution case is a document found at Lilliesleaf farm, outlining the secret 'Operation Mayibuye' (Come back).

"The document explains the necessity of violence and outlines a scheme of revolution in which four groups of thirty men each were to be landed by sea. They would then be joined by an internal force of 7,000 guerrillas. The combined force would begin a 'massive onslaught on selected targets.' But the prosecution has not managed to sustain one important part of the indictment—that the accused were part of an international Communist conspiracy, rooted abroad. In fact, the evidence has suggested that, although members of the Communist Party were involved, the revolutionary plan was essentially a home-grown affair; and that the expected military and financial support was to come largely from other African States."

Mary Benson said: "Anyone knowing Mandela, Walter Sisulu and the others who for twenty years or more have selflessly struggled to bring sanity to South Africa will know what a powerful feature of their characters is their humanity. As decade after decade the State tightened the screws of oppression and humiliation, they protested and struggled for reform and justice by the noblest of methods, non-violent resistance. It was not until 1961, a year after Sharpeville, when yet one more stay-at-home protest strike was massively crushed by the armed forces of the State, that a long chapter was closed, for—as one of the leaders said to me—"desperate people will eventually be provoked to acts of retaliation.' Yet even in the subsequent sabotage, it is clear that everything possible has been done to avoid harming human beings."²

An appeal to the United Nations to intervene to prevent the possible execution of the accused was made by Mr Oliver Tambo, deputy president of the African National Congress, and by Miss Mary Benson. The appeal was heard by the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid in South Africa.

Speaking in the Senate on March 10, the Minister of Justice, Mr Vorster, claimed destruction of the Spear of the Nation and revealed what he said was a six-phase plan by African states to overthrow the White Government. The six phases were: incitement; creation of disorder; sabotage; guerrilla warfare; invasion; and take-over of the Republic.

1. *The Observer*, March 1, 1964.

2. *The Observer*, March 8, 1964.

Mr Vorster said that since December 1961, when sabotage began on a large scale, there had been 203 serious cases, but only 21 since July 1963. The reason was the introduction last June of the ninety-day detention clause of the General Law Amendment Act. Referring to the three British protectorates in southern Africa, Mr Vorster said: 'Bechuanaland has become the corridor for saboteurs and others to receive training in sabotage.' In Swaziland "they are organizing against us openly" and saboteurs were "quite openly recruited" in Basutoland.¹

The defence opened its case on April 20 when Nelson Mandela made a statement in which he explained why Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) had been formed, and outlined the history, aims and policy of the African National Congress. He also explained his own motives for involvement with an organization favouring violent methods of resistance.

He said: "During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against White domination and I have fought against Black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But, if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."²

These were the words with which Nelson Mandela concluded his inspiring five-hour address to the court. When the defence case opened, Mandela told Mr. Justice De Wet, the Judge President, he would also admit planning sabotage, not through recklessness or a love of violence, but because he felt there was no other course open to the African people.

At the opening of the proceedings, for which both White and non-White galleries were full, Mr. A. Fischer, who led the defence team, said he would briefly outline the case for the defence.

He said some of the State evidence would be admitted by some of the accused. Some would be denied.

It would be denied that the first seven accused were all members of the National High Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

In fact it would be denied that Goldberg, Kathrada, Bernstein and Mhlaba had ever been members of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

It would be denied that Umkhonto we Sizwe was a part, the military wing, of the African National Congress and it would be asserted that the leaders of both organisations had done their best to keep them apart.

It would be denied also that the African National Congress was or had been the tool of the Communist Party or that it shared the aims and objects of this party.

It would be shown that the African National Congress was a broad national movement with equal political rights for all South Africans as its

1. *The Times*, March 11, 1964.

2. This summary of the proceedings on that historic day has been reproduced from the *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg.

aim and that it welcomed the support of the Communist Party as it did all support.

Umkhonto we Sizwe had been formed to commit sabotage when it was seen that all other methods of political protest had failed.

It would be denied that Umkhonto we Sizwe had intended guerrilla warfare. Plans for guerrilla warfare had been made as early as 1962. But no plan had been adopted and it had been hoped throughout the campaign the adoption of any plan would prove unnecessary.

The court would be asked to take into consideration the political backgrounds of the leaders of the movements and what led them to plan violence and in this way to see that they never could have adopted the plan for guerrilla warfare.

When it became clear that Mandela would make his statement from the dock, which meant that he could not be cross-examined under oath, Dr. P. Yutar, for the State, asked the court to warn him that such a statement carried less weight than evidence under oath. Mandela indicated he was aware of the position.

He said the suggestion by the State that the struggle in South Africa was under the influence of foreigners or Communists was wholly incorrect.

"I have done whatever I did as an individual and as a leader of my people because of my experience in South Africa and my own proudly-felt African background and not because of what any outsider might have said," he went on.

He had been inspired in his youth in the Transkei by tales of the valour of men such as Dinga, Bambata, Hintsa, Makana, Squngthi, Dalasile, Moshesh and Sekhukhuni to make his contribution to the freedom struggle. This had been his sole motive.

Some of the things told to the court were true and some untrue. But he did not deny he had planned sabotage. He had not, however, planned it in a spirit of recklessness or from a love of violence.

Mandela said: "I planned it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation and oppression of my people by the Whites.

"I admit immediately that I was one of the persons who helped to form Umkhonto we Sizwe and that I played a prominent part in its affairs until I was arrested in August 1962."

He denied that Umkhonto was responsible for a number of acts which fell outside the policy of the organisation but with which he had been charged. These acts could not have been authorised by Umkhonto. He did not know who committed them.

Umkhonto had been formed because he and others had believed that as a result of Government policy violence by the African people had become inevitable.

They believed that unless responsible leadership were given to canalise and control the feelings of the people, there would be outbreaks of terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility

between the various races of the country.

Secondly, they felt that as all lawful methods of expressing opposition to the principle of White supremacy had been closed, sabotage provided the African people with their only means of defying the Government. The alternative was to accept a permanent state of inferiority.

Only when the Government had used violence to crush non-violent opposition had they resorted to violence in reply.

The African National Congress, formed in 1912, had always followed a policy of non-violence and successive White governments had remained unmoved by its pleadings.

In 1949 it was decided to protest by unlawful but still peaceful means. He had been in charge of this campaign of passive resistance and of the "volunteers" who carried it out.

He and 19 colleagues had been arrested and tried for their role in these incidents. Their sentences had been suspended because the judge found that discipline and non-violence had been stressed throughout.

The "volunteers" were not soldiers of a Black army but dedicated workers who were prepared to distribute pamphlets, organize strikes or carry out campaigns initiated by the A.N.C.

In spite of the harsh penalties prescribed by the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the peaceful protests continued.

In 1956 he and 156 of his colleagues had been tried for high treason. When judgment was given five years later, the court found that the A.N.C. did not have a policy of violence.

"We were acquitted on all counts," he said. "They included a count that the A.N.C. sought to set up a Communist state in place of the existing regime.

"The Government has always sought to label all its opponents as Communists. This allegation has been repeated in the present case. But, as I will show, the A.N.C. is not and never has been a Communist organisation."

After the shooting at Sharpeville in 1960, the Government had banned the A.N.C. He and his colleagues decided not to obey this decree for to do so would be the equivalent of accepting the silencing of Africans for all time.

There had been confusion about the term "high command" on the part of witnesses from the Eastern Province. The term had been coined to describe a jail committee set up during the emergency when most of the leaders of the A.N.C. had been jailed. The name had stuck, particularly in Port Elizabeth.

In 1960 as a result of the referendum in which the Africans were not consulted, the all-in African Congress was called to request a national convention.

He had undertaken to organise the national "stay-at-home" which was planned to coincide with the declaration of a republic. As all strikes by Africans were illegal, he had been forced into hiding.

Although the strike had been peaceful, the Government had introduced harsher laws and mobilised its armed forces and sent soldiers and armoured vehicles into the townships in a massive show of force.

This decision of the Government to rule by force alone was a milestone on the road to Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"We of the A.N.C. shrank from any action which might drive the races further apart than they already were," Mandela said.

But the facts were that 50 years of non-violence had brought the African people more repressive legislation and even fewer rights.

"For a long time the people had been speaking of violence and the leaders had to admit that a policy of non-violence had achieved nothing, so much so that their followers were beginning to lose confidence in this policy.

In fact, violence had become a feature of the South African political scene.

There had been violence in 1957 when the women of Zeerust were ordered to carry passes. There had been violence in 1958 with the enforcement of cattle culling in Sekukuniland. There had been violence in 1959 when the people of Cato Manor had protested against the pass raids. There had been violence in Pondoland in 1960 when the Government attempted to introduce Bantu authorities and there had been riots in Warmbaths in 1961.

Small groups of Africans in the urban area had been spontaneously making plans for violent forms of political struggle and there was a danger they would adopt terrorism against Africans as well as Whites if not properly directed.

In 1961 the leaders, of which he was one, decided to press for a policy of violence in the national liberation movement, only after serious consideration.

The A.N.C. would not change its policy but agreed not to take disciplinary action against its members who took part in controlled sabotage.

Four forms of violence were possible—sabotage, guerrilla warfare, terrorism and open revolution. It was decided to embark on sabotage because it did not involve the loss of life.

It was believed South Africa was already dependent on foreign trade and foreign capital. Umkhonto chose power supplies and communications as its targets to frighten trade and capital away.

Attacks were linked with sabotage on Government buildings and other symbols of apartheid to inspire the African people to continue their struggle.

Strict instructions were given to Umkhonto that they were on no account to kill or injure people in their attacks. Umkhonto members were forbidden to go into operation carrying arms.

Any attacks carried out before December 16, 1961, were not the work of Umkhonto, which had its first operation on that date.

The Government replied to these activities with threats and even

harsher measures. It was decided that, to be ready for all eventualities, provision had to be made for the possibility of guerrilla warfare.

It had been decided to send him abroad where among other things he could make arrangements for the training of recruits from South Africa who would then form the nucleus of a military force if the need should ever arise.

While abroad he had undergone military training so as to be able to fight side by side with his people if the need arose.

Summaries of books on guerrilla warfare in his hand-writing had been handed into court. He admitted having made them in an effort to prepare himself for any eventuality.

He had made arrangements for Africans from South Africa to be trained outside the Republic and had seen the first batch of recruits pass through Tanganyika while he was on his way home.

Referring to the evidence of Mr. X, the secret State witness who spent four days in the witness box, Mandela said much of his evidence was true but much was slanted and much untruthful in some respects.

For instance, he had never said that certain African states had promised the national liberation movement one per cent of their budgets.

He had never said trainees should hide the fact that they were Communists but had said they should not use their position to make Communist propaganda.

He had never referred to Umkhonto as the "military wing of the A.N.C." because he had always regarded the two organisations as separate and had done his best to keep them separate.

Regarding the bombing of private houses in Port Elizabeth and East London he said he did not know what justification there had been for this or what provocation had been given. They had not been the work of Umkhonto.

Umkhonto was not and never had been a part of the A.N.C. although bannings, imprisonment and departures of leaders for overseas had led to some overlapping, some leaders having to serve in dual capacities.

Rivonia had never been the headquarters of Umkhonto during the time he had been there but he had known certain Communist Party activities were carried out there.

He had come to be there through Arthur Goldreich whom he had known socially and who had offered him accommodation while he was in hiding. Up to the time of his arrest in August 1962, neither Umkhonto nor the A.N.C. had used Lilliesleaf farm as a headquarters.

The ideological creed of the A.N.C. had never been the same as that of the Communist Party. Its creed was one of African nationalism with the concept of freedom and fulfilment for the African people in their own country.

The freedom charter was not a blueprint for a socialist state in that it called for redistribution but not nationalisation of the land. It provided for nationalisation of the banks, mines and monopolies because continued

monopoly would mean continued domination of the Africans by the Whites.

The Communist Party regarded the freedom charter, for which it was prepared to work, as the beginning and not the end of its programme.

The Communist Party sought to emphasise class distinctions while the A.N.C. sought to harmonise them.

The co-operation between the A.N.C. and the Communist Party was merely proof of a common goal and not proof of community of interest.

He believed the Communist Party had always played an active role in the fight by colonial countries for their freedom.

For decades the Communists had been the only section of the population which was prepared to treat Africans as equals. It was not surprising therefore when Africans turned to them in their struggle for freedom.

Because of this situation many Africans today equated Communism with freedom. They were supported in this belief by a legislature which branded those who opposed the government and fought for African freedom as Communists.

Although he had never been a Communist himself, he had been named and convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act.

He had always regarded himself as an African patriot and was related to the Paramount Chief of Tembuland and to Chief Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei. His thoughts, however, had been coloured by Marxist literature and by his admiration for the structure of early African society in this country where there were no rich and no poor and no exploitation.

In common with many leaders of newly independent states he accepted the need for some form of socialism to enable his people to catch up with the advanced countries of the world and overcome their legacy of poverty.

The basic task at present was to remove race discrimination and the attainment of democratic rights on the basis of the freedom charter. As far as the Communist Party furthered the execution of this task he welcomed its assistance.

Many of the exhibits were in his handwriting. But he denied that those which took the form of Marxist lectures were his own work. They had been an attempt of his to rewrite lectures written by an official of the Communist Party into a more readable form.

The fight of the African people was against real and not imaginary hardships. Basically they fought against two features which were entrenched by legislation. The one was poverty and the other loss of human dignity. No "agitators" were needed to teach the African people of these things. Mandela quoted statements and statistics to prove that Africans lived on impoverished land in the reserves and in squalor at starvation level in the towns.

Poverty went hand-in-hand with malnutrition and its attendant diseases, he said. The Africans complained not only of their poverty but that laws made by the Whites were designed to keep them poor and the

Whites rich.

The present Government had always done everything possible to hamper the Africans in their search for education.

It had done away with the feeding scheme for African schoolchildren. Spending by the Government on White schoolchildren was nearly 12 times per head that spent on African schoolchildren. Even the quality of education given to African children differed from that given to Whites.

Job reservation and the industrial colour bar prevented Africans from ever improving their position in the labour market. In addition, they were not allowed to form trade unions, and were denied the right of collective bargaining.

Whites tended to regard Africans as a different breed and did not realise they fell in love, married, had children and strove to support them just as the Whites did.

Pass laws rendered Africans liable to police surveillance at any time and served to keep husbands and wives apart, break down family life and turn the youth into delinquents.

Africans wanted a living wage and the right to earn it in the place of their choice. They did not want to be confined to living in "ghettos." They wanted their wives and families with them and not to be confined to their rooms after 11 p.m. "like little children."

Africans wanted a share in the whole of South Africa. They wanted security and a stake in society.

Above all they wanted political rights. The Whites' fear of granting these could not be allowed to stand in the way of the only solution which would guarantee racial harmony and freedom for all.

Mandela said: "This then is what the A.N.C. is fighting. Its struggle is truly a national one. It is the struggle of the African people, inspired by their own suffering and their own experience."

Walter Sisulu, the former general secretary of the African National Congress, giving evidence under oath, said he had passed standard four at school, then gone to work in the gold mines. After educating himself, he had become a professional politician.

His own political view was that he wanted the best of both the socialist and the capitalist worlds, but the fundamental necessity for Africans was the achievement of political rights.

The A.N.C. welcomed all classes of Africans who strove for African freedom. He was opposed to the introduction of ideologies into the A.N.C.

He had had personal experience of the hardships suffered by Africans in South Africa. He had been a victim of the pass laws, had been banned, confined, house-arrested, detained, separated from his family and imprisoned.

The Umkhonto we Sizwe had been formed because the Government had used violence against the Africans on every possible occasion. The danger of civil war had become very real.

He said he supported the policy of sabotage "so that Africans could obtain their ideals". Sisulu also described the part played by Arthur Goldreich in the preparation of an overall plan for guerrilla warfare known as "Operation Mayibuye". This document described how guerrillas within South Africa would receive overseas support. Sisulu also told the Court how Special Branch officers had said that he could escape the death penalty if he gave them information about his colleagues¹.

An application by Mr V. C. Berrange, defence counsel, to call two professors of psychology for the purpose of testifying on the possible brain damage suffered by ninety-day detainees was refused².

The danger of the death sentence being passed against the accused had been greatly increased as a result of the savage sentences meted out by the courts to A. N. C. leaders in the Eastern Cape.

In a case in Port Alfred three leading members of the African National Congress—Vuyisile Mini, Zinakele Kaba and Wilson Khayinga—were sentenced to death at the conclusion of a case in which they were charged with 17 counts of sabotage, propagating the aims of the banned A. N. C. by addressing meetings and recruiting members with the object of sending them to foreign countries for military training, and murder, because they were held responsible for the death of an informer who was to have given evidence in sabotage cases.

In a case in Queenstown, Washington Bongco, volunteer-in-chief of the regional committee of the A. N. C. in East London, was sentenced to death when he was found guilty on six of 13 counts of sabotage. The judge, Mr. Justice Cloete, described Mr. Bongco as "one of the evil geniuses behind the acts of sabotage in East London". He was also found guilty of being a member of the regional committee of the A. N. C. in East London, of soliciting money for the A. N. C. and taking an active part in the affairs of the organisation.

Five other members of the A. N. C. in a series of trials at Queenstown were sentenced to between 15 and 20 years' imprisonment for sabotage.

In Port Elizabeth three Africans were sentenced to three, eight and 12 years' imprisonment respectively for burning down the shop of Memory Maneli, official representative of the Chief Minister of the Transkei, Keiser Matanzima, in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, in September last year.

By now it was quite obvious that the Rivonia accused would be sentenced to death or long terms of imprisonment. With the conclusion of the defence case, the Anti-apartheid Movement, which had sponsored a World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners, intensified its efforts to mobilize world opinion to intercede on behalf of the accused to save them from execution or a lifetime of imprisonment. The campaign received an enthusiastic response from many parts of the

1. *South African Standard*, April 25, 1964.

2. *The Times*, May 5, 1964.

world. Heads of states, jurists, students' groups, women's organizations, trade unions and ordinary people passed resolutions condemning the South African Government, voicing their protest over the holding of the trial and demanding the release of the men.

The campaign received the support of many world statesmen. In a message to the campaign organizers, Mr. Nehru said: "I am glad to learn of a campaign for the release of South African political prisoners.

"We witness in South Africa today the sad spectacle of several hundred persons having been put behind the bar under the provisions of apartheid laws which have rightly been condemned by enlightened public opinion throughout the world. We in India have unequivocally expressed our opposition to these laws which run counter to the spirit of the U. N. Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and, indeed, the basic principles of civilised human behaviour. The trials of several hundred political prisoners who are languishing in jails for alleged political offences presents a challenge to human dignity.

"I earnestly hope that the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners will help to bring about a change of heart in the Government of South Africa leading to its abandoning its oppressive racial policies. I wish the Campaign every success."

The Indian Government approached the British Government with the request that it make representations to the South African Government calling for the release of all political prisoners in accordance with the resolution of the United Nations. The Indian Government's request followed approaches made to the Indian Embassy in London by the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners.

Judgment was given on the defendants in the Rivonia case on June 11. Seven of the nine men were convicted on all four of the counts listed in the indictment. They were found guilty of planning a "violent revolution" against the country's racial policies and of recruiting persons for military training inside South Africa and abroad for the sabotage organization, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). The men were Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Dennis Goldberg, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, and Andrew Mlangeni. Ahmed Muhammad Kathrada was found guilty only of being party to conspiracy with the others. All were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Lionel Bernstein was found not guilty on all charges. The judge said in his opinion the guilt of Bernstein had not been established. Bernstein was immediately rearrested by police when the Court rose, on a warrant stated to be in connection with alleged offences under the Suppression of Communism Act. He was released on bail¹.

Counts one and two of the indictment related to charges of sabotage in that the accused, or organizations to which they belonged, recruited men for instruction and training, but within and outside South Africa,

1. *The Times*, June 12, 1964.

prepared and made explosives for sabotage and actually committed acts of sabotage. The third count alleged that the men furthered the aims of the Communist Party and the fourth that the men had something to do with the financial background of the sabotage campaign and the recruiting of trainees. The defendants, with the exception of Bernstein, Kathrada, and Mhlaba, had all conceded guilt on two or more of the four counts.

The judge said there had been great similarity of aims and membership between the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Communist Party. Umkhonto was a sabotage organization founded in 1961 with the approval of A. N. C. leaders, to attack targets thought to be "symbols of apartheid" or installations vital to the country's economy. He said that it appeared from evidence that many, if not the majority of members of the A. N. C. and Umkhonto, did also belong to the Communist Party; it further appeared that the A. N. C. was Communist-dominated and had at all times retained the political guidance of Umkhonto. From the evidence of Sisulu and Kbeki it was clear that the A. N. C. National Executive had authorized its members, with its approval, to embark on a policy of sabotage; the secretariat had been authorized to assist Umkhonto. In these circumstances it seemed idle to contend that Umkhonto and its members were not the agents or servants of the A. N. C. National Executive¹.

Mr. Justice de Wet termed Mandela the "prime mover" in establishing Umkhonto we Sizwe. He found that former Chief Lutuli had been aware of the organization's operations, but although consulted from time to time, he had been kept in the background. The judge dismissed charges that Umkhonto had conspired to commit guerrilla warfare and open the country to invasion by unnamed outside military forces. He ruled that the State had not supported these allegations².

Giving sentence on June 12, the judge said that the offences of which the accused were guilty were essentially treasonable, but the State had not charged them with treason and he would not impose the death penalty. Mr. Alan Paton, who gave evidence in mitigation, said that it was the failure of peaceful methods of protest which had led the non-Whites to believe that they must either submit or resort to violence³.

There will be no appeal against either the sentences or the conviction. A statement by the defence lawyers, announcing this, said that Mandela and Sisulu accepted full responsibility for their actions during the trial.

All the defendants, except for Dennis Goldberg, are now in Robben Island Prison⁴.

At the United Nations on May 30, thirty-two African countries through their representatives appealed to those countries having diplomatic relations

1. *The Rand Daily Mail*, June 12, 1964.

2. *The Times*, June 12, 1964

3. *The Rand Daily Mail*, June 13, 1964

4. *The Times*, June 25, 1964.

with South Africa, and particularly to the United Kingdom, the United States and France, "to prevent the execution of African nationalist leaders now on trial in Pretoria"¹.

On June 9, the Security Council, by seven votes to nil with four abstentions, adopted a resolution urging the South African Government:

(a) to renounce the execution of those sentenced to death for acts resulting from their opposition to the policy of apartheid;

(b) to end forthwith the trial in progress instituted within the framework of arbitrary apartheid laws; and

(c) to grant an amnesty to all persons already imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions for opposing apartheid, and particularly to the defendants in the Rivonia trial.

The countries which supported this decision were : Bolivia, China Czechoslovakia, Ivory Coast, Morocco, Norway, and Russia. Those which abstained, on grounds of principle, were : Britain, France, Brazil and the United States. Explaining Britain's vote Sir Patrick Dean said that although the British Government shared the sponsor's abhorrence of the Sabotage Act, it could not go along with the reference made in the resolution to the "arbitrary trials" now being conducted there. The resolution might be seen as an attempt to interfere with South Africa's judicial processes and could therefore have a harmful effect on the situation².

In the House of Commons, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. R. A. Butler, said that the British Government had informed the South African Government of the strong feeling in Britain about the political trials. Although he deplored the absence of political means of expression of African leaders, he refused to make any further representations to South Africa while the Rivonia trial was still sub judice³.

In an editorial headed "South Africa's Best Friend", the Guardian said that Britain's repeated vacillations over South Africa made it appear to the rest of the world, and doubtless to the South African Government as well, that she was engaged in prolonged fighting defence of South African interests.

There were demonstrations in Britain and many other countries against the verdict and sentences on June 11 and 12; in London nearly fifty M.P.s marched in protest from Westminster to South Africa House. On behalf of the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners, the Rt. Rev. Joost de Blank flew to New York to present a petition to the U. N. General Assembly calling for the abandonment of the trial and the release of all political prisoners in South Africa. It had more than 90,000 individual signatures and the support of organizations representing 250 million people.

The Trades Union Congress called on the people of South Africa

1. *The Times*, June 1, 1964.

2. *The Times*, June 10, 1964.

3. Hansard, June 15, 1964.

"to consider the inescapable consequences of the course on which their Government is set", and on the Government "to renounce vindictiveness and have regard for freedom and the dignity of human rights".

The Africa Bureau, in a statement, said that relief that a death sentence had not been passed was tempered by the sense of the appalling loss and waste that such men were now "to rot in jail".

From Israel, Professor Martin Buber and the Hebrew author, Haim Haziz, wrote to the South African Government: "We appeal to you, shed not blood of men and women who seek only to hold up their heads in dignity. Those whom you have placed in dock are as created equal with you your brothers. You will not silence their voices by hanging them. Their work will ring a thousand times more loudly if you do. A harsh judgment will not solve your problem, nor will it diminish the righteousness of their plea for freedom."

Dr. Verwoerd in a statement on June 16 said in Parliament that South Africa would resist any attempt to change the judgements and sentences of its courts. The reactions to the trial, including representations to the South African Government to influence the judgement, had been inspired by world Communism. The Rivonia case concerned a planned Communist uprising, and if the accused had succeeded tyranny would have been established in South Africa the same as in all satellite Communist countries¹.

Stanley Uys² wrote: "Legal African political activity meanwhile has dwindled almost to vanishing-point." The gulf between White and non-White was increasing. Even usually well-informed White Opposition leaders had been losing contact with the non-White population. So many obstacles had been placed in the path of multi-racial contact that with the best will in the world Whites could not keep themselves properly informed any longer. This was inevitable since the utmost secrecy was essential in face of the Security Police activity.

The Observer (June 14) suggested that saving the lives of the accused in ten years or so might prove immensely valuable to the safety of the Republic. When White South Africans eventually have to meet with the African opposition the need for intermediaries would be urgent. Mandela was one of the few men who could have the trust of both sides.

1. *The Times*, June 17, 1964.

2. *The Observer*, June 14, 1964.

ACTIVITIES OF THE COUNCIL

THE following is an account of the activities of the Council during the quarter:

"Nehru And Africa"

To commemorate the memory of Jawaharlal Nehru, the Council brought out an illustrated book, "Nehru and Africa," containing the speeches on Africa made by the late Prime Minister during the period 1946-64. It also contains the tributes paid to Nehru by African leaders. Published on the eve of the recent conference of non-aligned nations in Cairo, the book was distributed among the delegates who participated in the conference.

The book also aims at meeting the urgent need felt by the general reader and students of African Affairs for an authoritative work on India's policies on Africa. It brings together for the first time in a single volume material which formerly could be had only by referring to a number of books. It will thus serve the purpose of a handy reference book.

The book, carries a message from President Radhakrishnan and an introduction by Mr Asoka Mehta, Vice-President of the Council.

Visitors From Africa

The Council gave a reception in honour of Mr R. K. A. Gardiner, Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa, at Sapru House on Sept 22. Mr Gardiner spoke on the development problems of Africa and the work being done by the ECA to solve them. Mr Gardiner's speech is published elsewhere in this issue.

During his stay in the Capital, Mr Gardiner called on the Ministers of Commerce and Finance, the Minister and the Deputy Minister for External Affairs, Mr Dinesh Singh, the Secretary-General for External Affairs, and Dr P. C. Lokanathan, Director-General of the National Council of Applied Economic Research. He had also talks with officials of the Ministries of Commerce, Industry, Finance and Education and the Planning Commission.

The Office Secretary of the Council met Mr James Gichuru, Finance Minister of Kenya, at a dinner given in his honour during his visit to the Capital in September.

Mr Dinesh Singh, Deputy Foreign Minister and Vice-President of the Council, gave a dinner in honour of Mr Y. M. Dadoo, South African Indian leader.

Gifts Of Books

The Council received two sets of books from the Presence Africaine and the Ministry of Co-operation of the French Government, copies of the bulletin on North Africa published by La Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques and some publications of Le Centre D'Etude et de Documentation sur L'Afrique et l'Outre-mer.

The Council also received a set of 46 books from the British Council. A note on the Council and its activities was published in SCOLMA, the newsletter issued by the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University.

BOOKS RECEIVED

ADEMOLA, FRANCES. (ed). Reflections. Nigerian Prose and verse. Andre Deutsch, London. 5s. 6d.

BEIER, ULLI. African Mud Sculpture. Cambridge University Press, London. 1963. pp. 96. 25s.

BENSON, MARY. The African Patriots. Faber and Faber, London. 1963. Pp. 310

BRAITHWAITE, E. R. A Kind of Home-coming. Muller, London. 1963. Pp. 268. 21s.

CLEGG, EDWARD. Race and Politics: Partnership in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Oxford University Press, London. 1963. Pp. 280. \$ 4.80.

COOMBS, DOUGLAS. The Gold Coast, Britain and the Netherlands, 1850-1874. Oxford University Press, London. 1963. Pp. 160 \$ 4.00

CROZIER, BRIAN. The Morning After, Methuen. Pp. 299. 36s.

DENIS, A. On Safari; the Story of My Life. Collins, London. 1963. Pp. 320.

EK ENSI, C. Beautiful Feathers. Hutchinson, London. 1963. Pp. 160.

FIRST, RUTH. South West Africa. Penguin 1963. 5s.

FRIEDMANN, M. (ed.) I Will Still be Moved. Barker, London. 1963. Pp. 126

FORTES, M. Marriage in Tribal Societies. London. 1962 Pp. 157.

FURNEAUX, R. The Zulu War. Isandhlwana and Rorke's Drift. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London. 1963. Pp. 213.

GAVSHON, A. L. The Last Days of Dag Hammarskjöld. Barrie, London. 1963. Pp. 259.

GORDIMER, N. Occasion for Loving. Gollancz, London. 1963. Pp. 288.

GREAT BRITAIN, C. O. I. New Nations in Africa: the British Contribution. H.M.S.O., London. 1962. Pp. 58.

GREAT BRITAIN. The Kenya: Report of the Constituencies Delimitation Commission. H.M.S.O., London. 1963 Pp. 24 2s. 6d.

HUXLEY, E. The Merry Hippo. Chatto & Windus, London. 1963. Pp. 254.

JONES, G. I. The Trading States of the Oil Rivers. Oxford University Press, London. 1963. Pp. 262 \$ 5.60

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON AFRICA

Compiled by Mohc. Ahmad

This feature is presented every quarter with the object of providing a list of recent publications on Africa. It is hoped that this will be helpful to those who are specially interested in the study of African affairs.

—Editor

- ALFRED, HELEN** (ed.) *Worldwide Trade for Peace*. Peace Publications Committee, San Francisco. 1964 pp. 47. 35 cents.
- ASCHERSON, NEAL**. *The King Incorporated: Leopold II in the Age of Trusts*. Doubleday, New York. 1964. pp. 310. \$4.95.
- ATKINSON, B.H.** *Fiction Writing For Africans*. Macmillan, London. pp. 140. 7s.
- AZIKIWE, NNAMDI**. *Zik*. Cambridge University Press. 15s.
- BAADE, H.W.** (ed.) *African Law*. Oceana Publications, Dobbs Ferry, New York. 1963. pp. 119. \$6.00.
- BEIER, ULLI**. *Yemi Bisivi Akedanwaiye: A Yoruba Brass Caster*. Mbari Publications. Ibadan. 1963. pp. 20.
- BENSON, T.G.** (ed.) *Kikuyu—English Dictionary*. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1964. pp. 562. \$5.69.
- BOHANNAN, PAUL**. *Africa and Africans*. Natural History Press, New York. 1964. pp. 259. \$4.50.
- BOUTROS GHALI, BOUTROS**. "The Addis Ababa Charter," *International Conciliation*, No. 546. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York. 1964. pp. 64. 50 cents.
- BROOKES, EDGAR H. & ARMY VANDENBOSCH**. *The City of God and the City of Man in Africa*. University of Kentucky Press, Lexington. 1964. pp. 138. \$ 3.75.
- BUNTING, BRAIN**. *The Rise of the South African Reich*. Penguin African Library, Baltimore. 1964. pp. 332. \$1.25.
- BURKE, FRED G.** *Uganda: Local Governments and Politics*. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse. N.Y. pp. 274. \$7.50.
- CHAPMAN & SINCLAIR** (ed.) *Studies of a Small Democracy*. Angus & Robertson. 27s. 6d.
- COLEMAN, JAMES S.** (ed.) *Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa*. University of California Press, Berkely. \$10.00
- DAVIDSON, BASIL**. *The African Past*. Little Brown, Boston. 1964. pp. 392. \$7.95.
- DAVIDSON, BASIL**. *Which Way Africa?—the Search for a New Society*. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex. 1964. pp. 216. 4s.
- DICK-READ, ROBERT**. *Sanamu: Adventures in Search of African Art*. Rupert Hart-Davis, London, 1964, pp. 272. 30s.
- DODGE, RALPH E.** *The Unpopular Missionary*. Fleming H. Revell, Westwood, New Jersey. 1964. pp. 167. \$3.50.
- DUIGNAN, PETER** (ed.) *The United States and Canadian Publications on Africa in 1962 compiled by Hilary Sims*. Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford. 1964. pp. 104. \$3.00.
- FALLERS, L.A.** (ed.) *The King's Men*. Oxford University Press, London. 1964. pp. 414. \$6.40.
- FAX, ELTON C.** *West Africa Vignettes*. American Society of African Culture, New York. 1963. pp. 93. \$3.50.
- FOWLER, WILFRED**. *Harama: An African Interlude*. The Cresset Press, London. 1963. pp. 304. 30s.
- FRANK, THOMAS M., JOHN CAREY & LYMAN M. TONDEL** (ed.) *The Legal Aspects of the United Nations Action in the Congo*. Oceana Publications, Dobbs Ferry, New York. 1963. pp. 137. 3.95.
- FRIEDLAND, WILLIAM H. & CARL G. ROSBERG Jr.** (ed.) *African Socialism*. Stanford University Press, Stanford. 6.50.
- FYFE, CHRISTOPHER**. *Sierra Leone Inheritance*. Oxford University Press, London. 1964. pp. 352. 35s.
- GANN, L.H.** *A History of Northern Rhodesia*. Chatto & Windus. 55s.
- GANN, LEWIS H. & M. GELFAND**. *Huggins of Rhodesia*. Allen & Unwin, London, 42s.
- GEIGER, THEODORE & WINIFRED ARMSTRONG**. *The Development of African Private Enterprise*. National Planning Association, Washington. 1964. pp. 156. \$2.50.

- GLAZIER, KENNETH M.** *Africa South of the Sahara: A Select and Annotated Bibliography* 1958-1963. Hoover Institution Bibliographical Series XVI, Stanford. 1964. pp. 72. \$1.50.
- GRIFF, JONES.** *Britain and Nyasaland.* George Allen & Unwin, London. 36s.
- HARLER, C.R.** *The Culture and Marketing of Tea.* III edition. Oxford University Press, London. 1964. pp. 274. 42s.
- HAUSMAN, WARREN H. (ed.)** *Managing Economic Development in Africa.* The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, Cambridge. 1963. pp. 272. \$4.50
- HORRELL, MAURIEL.** *A Decade of Bantu Education.* South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg. 1964. pp. 186. 85 cents
- HOUGHTON, HOBART D.** *The South African Economy.* Oxford University Press, Cape Town and New York. 1964. pp. 261. \$4.10.
- HOWELL, F. CLARK & FRANCOIS BOURLIER.** *African Ecology and Human Evolution.* Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1963. pp. 666. \$12.50.
- HUNTER, GUY.** *Education for a Developing Region.* Allen & Unwin. 20s.
- HURLEY, DENIS E. O.M.L.** *Apartheid, A Crisis of the Christian Conscience, the Hoernle Memorial Lecture.* 1964. S.A.I.R.R. Johannesburg. 2s. 6d.
- HURWITZ, NATHAN.** *The Economics of Bantu Education in South Africa.* S.A.I.R.R. Johannesburg. 5s.
- JANOWITZ, MORRIS.** *The Military in the Political Development of New Nations.* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 1964. pp. 134. \$4.50.
- JUCKER FLEETWOOD, ERIN E.** *Money and Finance in Africa.* Allen & Unwin. 45s.
- KHADDURI, M.** *Modern Libya: A Study in Political Development.* Oxford University Press, London. 1964.
- KIMBLE, DAVID.** *A Political History of Ghana. 1850-1928.* Oxford University Press, London. 65s.
- KINGSNORTH, G.W.** *Africa South of the Sahara.* Cambridge University Press, London. 1964. pp. 160. 8s. 6d.
- KOLARZ, W.** *Communism and Colonialism.* Macmillan, London. 1964. pp. 147.
- LACARRIERE, J.** *The God-Possessed.* Allen & Unwin. 35s.
- LADEFOGED, PETER.** *A Phonetic Study of West African Languages: An Auditory-Instrumental Survey.* Cambridge University Press, London. 1964. pp. 96. 18s.
- LESLIE, J.A.K.** *A Survey of Dar-es-Salaam.* Oxford University Press for East African Institute of Social Research, London. 1963. pp. 294.
- LEUILLETTE, PIERRE.** *St. Michael and the Dragon.* Heinemann. pp. 269. 30s.
- LEWIN, JULIUS.** *Politics and Law in South Africa: Essays on Race Relations.* Merlin Press, London. 1963. pp. 116. 16s.
- LUTULI, A., T. MBOYA, B. CHISEZA, J. NYERERE & K. KAUNDA.** *Africa's Freedom.* Allen & Unwin. 5s.
- MAHOOD, M.M.** *Joyce Cary's Africa* Methuen, London. pp. 206. 30s.
- MEZERIK, A.G. (ed.)** *Apartheid in the Republic of South Africa.* International Review Service, New York. 1964. pp. 109.
- NEUMARK, S.D.** *Foreign Trade and Economic Development in Africa.* Food Research Institute, Stanford. 1964. pp. 222. \$6.95.
- NKRUMAH, KWAME.** *Consciencism.* Heinemann, London. 1964. pp. 118. 12s. 6d.
- NSARKOH, J.K.** *Local Government in Ghana.* Ghana Universities Press, Accra. 1964. pp. 324. 21s.
- ODUHO, JOSEPH & WILLIAM DENG.** *The Problems of the Southern Sudan.* Oxford University Press & I.R.R. London. 6s.
- OKIGBO, CHRISTOPHER.** *Limits.* Mbari Publications, Ibadan. 1964. pp. 24.
- PARKER, F. (Comp.)** *African Education: A Partial Bibliography of U.S.A. Doctoral Dissertations.* Texas University Press, Austin. 1963. pp. 8.
- PHILLIPS, CLAUDE S.** *The Development of Nigerian Foreign Policy.* Northwestern University Press, Evanston. 1964. pp. 154. \$5.95.
- QUIGG, PHILLIP W. (ed.)** *Africa: A Foreign Affairs Reader.* Frederick A. Praeger, New York. 1964. pp. 346. \$6.95.
- RHODESIA & NYASALAND.** *The Organizing Committee for the Seminar on Catholic Education, College of Education for Reality in Africa.* Mambo, Gwelo, Southern Rhodesia, 1963. pp. 160. 5/6.
- RIVKIN, ARNOLD.** *Africa and the European Common Market: A Perspective.* University of Denver, Colorado. 1964. pp. 61. \$1.00
- RIVKIN, ARNOLD.** *Africa and the West, Elements of Free World Policy.* Thames & Hudson, London.
- RODIER, J.** *Bibliography of African Hydrology.* UNESCO, Paris. 1963. pp. 166. \$5.25.
- SCHREINER, O.D.** *South Africa—United or Divided? Presidential Address.* 1964. S.A.I.R.R., Johannesburg. 2s. 6d.
- SELLASSIE, SAHLE.** *Shinaga's Scenes of Ethiopia.* University of California Press, Berkeley. 1964. pp. 112. \$3.95.

- SENGHOR, LEOPOLD SEDAR.** *On African Socialism.* Praeger, New York. 1963. pp. 165. \$4.95.
- SKINNER, J.V.** *Reading and Reasoning.* Oxford University Press, Ibadan. 6s. 6d.
- STARKEY, MARION L.** *Striving to Make it My Home: The Story of Americans from Africa.* W.W. Norton, New York. 1964. pp. 256. \$5.95.
- STRATON, ARTHUR** *The Great Red Island.* Charles Scribner's Son, New York. \$7.50.
- SUFRIN, SIDNEY C.** *Unions in Emerging Societies: Frustration and Politics.* Syracuse University Press, Syracuse. 1964. pp. 124. \$4.50.
- THOMPSON, RICHARD.** *Race and Sport* Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, London and New York. 1964. pp. 73. \$1.75.
- TRADE DIRECTORY** *of the Republic of Ghana 1964, including Classified Trade Index.* The Diplomatic Press and Publishing Co. London. 1964. pp. 144. \$2.
- UNESCO.** *The Development of Higher Education in Africa, Report of the Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa, Tananarive, September 3-12, 1962.* UNESCO, Paris, 1963. pp. 339. \$7.00.
- UNESCO,** *International Documents Service. A Review of the Natural Resources of African Continent.* Columbia University Press, New York. 1963. pp. 437. \$15.00.
- UNESCO.** *Social Scientists Specializing in African Studies.* Mouton & Company, Paris. 1963. pp. 375.
- UNESCO.** *World Communications—Press, Radio, Television, Film.* United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, Paris. 1964. pp. 380. \$8.00
- VALAHU, MUGUR.** *The Katanga Circus.* Roberty Speller, New York. 1964. pp. 364. \$6.00
- WALKER, AUDREY A.** *Official Publications of Sierra Leone and Gambia: A Guide.* Library of Congress, Washington. 1963. pp. 92. 55 cents.
- WILLIAMS, DENIS.** *Other Leopards.* New Authors, London. 1963. pp. 222. 18s.
- WILLS, A.J.** *An Introduction to the History of Central Africa.* Oxford University Press, London. 1964. pp. 396. 25s.
- WILSON, J.** *Education and Changing West African Culture.* Columbia University Press, New York 1963. pp. 125.
- ZAJADATZ, PAUL (ed.)** *Probleme Und Moglichkeiten der Industriellen Entwicklung im Senegal.* Photostelle der Universitat Zu Koln, Druck. 1962. pp. 436.

STATE BANK OF INDIA

Authorised Capital	..	..	Rs. 20,00,00,000
Paid-up Capital	..	..	Rs. 5,62,50,000
Reserve Fund (as on 31-12-63)	..	..	Rs. 9,30,00,000

Local Head Offices :

CALCUTTA • BOMBAY • MADRAS • NEW DELHI

London Office :

25, Old Broad Street LONDON. E.C. 2

WITH OVER 1500 OFFICES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

THE STATE BANK OF INDIA AND ITS SUBSIDIARIES

are at the nation's service

NEHRU AND AFRICA

A Collection of Jawaharlal Nehru's
Speeches on Africa
1946-64

"In the ensuing pages India speaks to Africa through the words of Jawaharlal Nehru. No more sublime words can be offered as an expression of our friendship for and understanding of the peoples of Africa."

—*Asoka Mehta in Introduction to the Book*

Printed on art paper, with cover in three colours. Profusely illustrated.
pp. 120. Price Rs. 3.50.

Published by

THE INDIAN COUNCIL FOR AFRICA

5 Curzon Lane, New Delhi.

To be out soon

Report of the
Seminar on
Problems of Socialist
Transformation in
Developing Countries



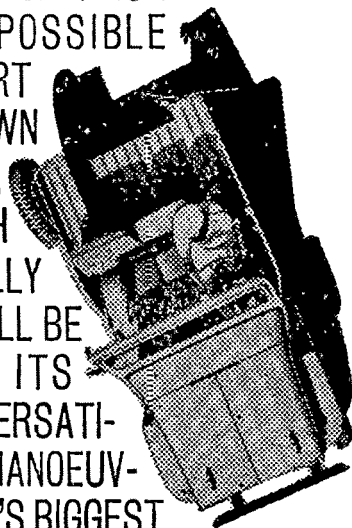
Published by :


INDIAN COUNCIL FOR AFRICA

5 Curzon Lane, New Delhi

A ROAD IS NOT THE ONLY PLACE
WHERE YOU CAN DRIVE A JEEP.

DRIVE IT OFF THE ROAD. RUN
IT THROUGH IMPOSSIBLE
TERRAIN. ON A CART
TRACK. UPHILL. DOWN
A ROCKY SLOPE.
THROUGH SLUSH
AND MUD. VIRTUALLY
ANYWHERE. YOU WILL BE
ASTOUNDED BY ITS
STRENGTH AND VERSATI-
LITY! POWERFUL, MANOEUV-
RABLE, THE WORLD'S BIGGEST
LITTLE VEHICLE IS UNBEATA-
BLE IN PERFORMANCE AND
ECONOMY. IT HAS A 72 BRAKE
HORSE POWER ENGINE. A 4
WHEEL DRIVE...CAN BE EASILY
ADAPTED TO MANY USES.



THE JEEP UNIVERSAL IS THE
 MOST DEPENDABLE
VEHICLE YOU CAN OWN

MAHINDRA & MAHINDRA LTD.
BOMBAY • CALCUTTA • DELHI • MADRAS

Authorised dealers

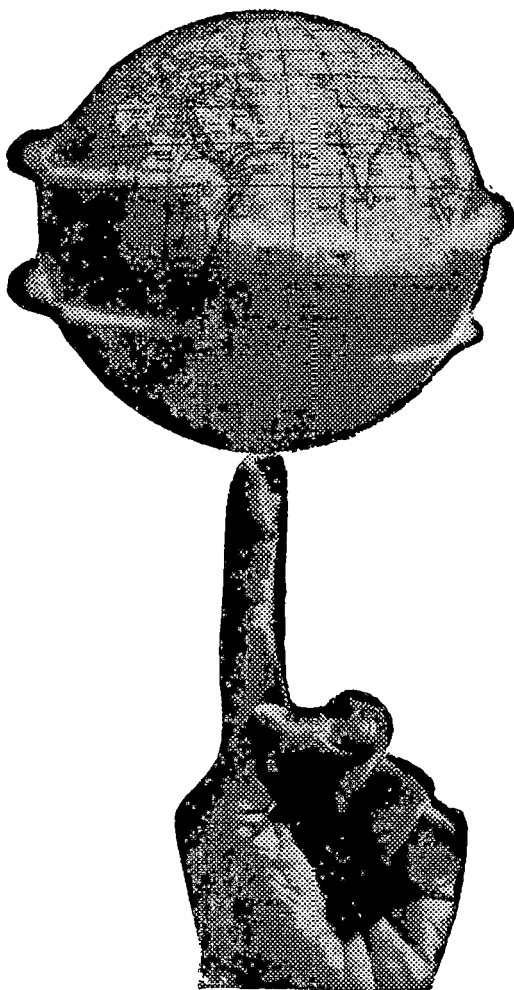
AUTOMOTIVE MANUFACTURERS PVT. LTD., Secunderabad • BHOPAL MOTORS PVT. LTD., Bhopal •
CAMA MOTORS PVT. LTD., Ahmedabad • CENTRAL AUTOMOBILES, Raipur (M.P.) • GARAPATI GARAGE,
(1959) Vijayawada • GHATGE & PATIL, Kolhapur • HIRAKUD MOTORS, Sambalpur • INDIA GARAGE,
Bangalore • INDIA GARAGE, Madras • JADWET TRADING CO., Port Blair (Andaman & Nicobar Islands) •
JAMMU & KASHMIR MOTOR CORP., Jammu-Tawi (Kashmir State) • LAWLAY SEN & CO., Patna • METRO
MOTORS, Bombay • METRO MOTORS (KATHIAWAR) PVT. LTD., Rajkot • NARAIN AUTOMOBILES,
Lucknow • NARBHERAM & CO. PVT. LTD., Jamshedpur • PATNAIK & CO. PVT. LTD., Cuttack •
PROVINCIAL AUTOMOBILE CO. PVT. LTD., Nagpur • SANGHI BROS. (INDORE) PVT. LTD., Indore •
SANGHI MOTORS, New Delhi (Branch: Chandigarh) • SILVER JUBILEE MOTORS PVT. LTD., Poona • T.V.
SUNDARAM IYENGAR & SONS PVT. LTD., Madurai • TASHI COMMERCIAL CORPORATION, Phuentsoling
(Bhutan) • TENZING & TENZING, Sikkim • UNITED MOTORS OF RAJASTHAN, Jaipur • VISHNOO V
KAMAT TARGAR, Cidade De Goa, Goa • WALFORD TRANSPORT LTD., Calcutta (Branches: Dibrugarh &
Siliguri)

IN FRIENDSHIP Though continents apart, the peoples of Africa and India are steadily moving closer to each other sharing the same belief—a belief in freedom and a belief in the dignity of man. It is this, more than anything else, that is the basis of our friendship which is constantly being strengthened by a two-way commerce of ideas and people—a healthy commerce of mutual benefit to both.

And IAC for its part feels justly honoured to have contributed to this friendship by sending out a team of technicians to serve in Nigerian Airways.

INDIAN AIRLINES





The Bank of Baroda has been handling foreign business for many years. Today, the Bank has branches in London, East Africa, Fiji Islands, Mauritius and East Pakistan.

The Bank of Baroda through any of its foreign branches or its correspondents is fully equipped to offer all the services needed in foreign trade and to handle every type of foreign exchange business—including opening Letters of credit, the negotiation/collection of export bills, clean bills and cheques, foreign remittances, credit information, etc., and is always willing and prepared to assist you in solving your problems concerning imports, exports and foreign travel with prompt and efficient service.

THAT EXPERT TOUGH COMES WITH EXPERIENCE

**THE BANK OF BARODA
HAS BEEN HANDLING
FOREIGN BUSINESS
FOR YEARS & YEARS**

Branches in London, Nairobi, Mombasa, Kampala, Dar-es-Salaam, Moshi, Mbale, Mwanza, Jinja, Kisumu, Narainganj (East Pakistan), Port Louis (Mauritius), Suva and Lautoka (Fiji Islands) and correspondent banks all over the world.

Write-in for our free booklet 'May We Help You?' which gives details of all our services.

THE BANK OF BARODA LIMITED

(Estd. 1908) Head Office: Baroda

BWT-88. 2232

AFRICA QUARTERLY

A Journal Of African Affairs



Vol. IV

October - December 1964

No. 3

Contents

PAGE

India's Stake in Africa	...	<i>K. B. Rai</i>	152
Kenya and the Immigrants	...	<i>S. P. Chowdhry</i>	157
South African Indians and Citizenship	...	<i>Bridglal Pachai</i>	167
International Legal Aspect of the Problem of South-West Africa	...	<i>Branimir Jankovic</i>	179
Teacher Education in India	...	<i>P. K. Roy</i>	192
Quarterly Chronicle	...		198
Activities of the Council	...	...	204
Lagos Plan for Scientific Research (Documentation)	...	...	205
Books Received	...	...	217
Bibliography	...	...	218

Note To Contributors

The Indian Council for Africa welcomes articles and contributions from all interested in African affairs, especially from those making particular studies of African problems and people. Remuneration may be paid for articles and contributions accepted for publication in the journal.

The views expressed in the articles under the authors' names are not necessarily those held by the Council.

AFRICA QUARTERLY

(A Journal of African Affairs)

Editor

Balvantray Gopaljee Mehta

Editorial Board

Asoka Mehta

Kakasaheb Kalelkar

B. Shiva Rao

Dinesh Singh

G. L. Mehta

H. N. Kunzru

Associate Editor

S. A. Mehdi, M.P.

AFRICA QUARTERLY is published in January, April, July and October every year.

AFRICA QUARTERLY is devoted to a study and objective understanding of African affairs. It publishes contributions from outstanding writers, experts and specialists on various political, economic, social, cultural and literary subjects of interest to the people of Africa. Apart from these, it carries documentation on different specialised African subjects.

© *Contents Copyright*

Subscription (*in India*) : Rs. 10 per annum
Single Copy : Rs. 3

Subscription (*Foreign*) : £ 1. 10sh. or \$ 5
Single Copy : 9sh. or \$ 1.50

Contributors To This Issue

Mr. K.B. Rai is a Lecturer in Political Science at Kurukshetra University, Punjab.

Mr. S.P. Chowdhry is a Lecturer in History at the Deshbandhu Gupta College, Delhi University. He is doing research on "Indian Emigration to East Africa".

Dr. Bridglal Pachai is a Lecturer in History at the University College of Cape Coast. He has published a book, "History of Indian Opinion", dealing with the life and work of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa. He is currently engaged in research on "The Earliest European Settlements on the Atlantic Coast".

Dr. Branimir Jankovic is Prorecteur de l' University a Beograd. He visited India recently as a member of the Yugoslav delegation to the World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation.

Dr. P. K. Roy is Principal of the Central Institute of Education, National Council of Educational Research and Training.

India's Stake in Africa

by K. B. RAI

FEW issues concerning the outside world have been given greater consideration and viewed more sympathetically in India, particularly since independence,¹ than those relating to Africa. The late Prime Minister of India, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, showed his characteristic vision as a historian when he spoke about Africa. About the emerging independent nations of Africa he said in the General Assembly : "When future historians write about this period, in which we are living, they may well say that an outstanding feature of this period was the emergence of African countries, the new life that is coursing through the veins of Africa, which I think is, historically speaking, of vital importance today".² Despite India's interest in and sympathy for Africans and African problems, it is felt that the country should give greater consideration to her Africa policy. After his recent tour of Malawi (formerly Nyasaland), where he was sent to represent India at the Malawi Independence Day celebrations, and Kenya, Mr. A. K. Sen, India's Minister for Law, is understood to have impressed upon Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Prime Minister, the need to build up "India's image in African countries".³

A number of explanations may be given for India's interest in Africa. The experience of having been a colony herself for a long time has naturally made India espouse the cause of countries struggling for independence. India has supported Africans ungrudgingly on this issue. In his first statement on India's foreign policy as Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru said on September 7, 1946, in a broadcast from New Delhi : "We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples, and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races"⁴. However, India has been accused of adopting a lukewarm attitude on some of the colonial issues. Thus her stand on the Algerian question and the French Cameroons elections (1960) has been considered less anti-colonial than on other similar problems.

India has advocated economic sanctions against South Africa. So intense has been India's reaction to the policy of apartheid in South Africa that in a television interview in Washington on September 23, 1963, Mrs.

1. Indians have been actively interested in Africa for the last 100 years. For a historical analysis of this subject see Dr. Robert G. Gregory, *The Evolution of an Indian Policy towards Africa*, AICC Economic Review, Vol. XIV. No. 18 (February 15, 1963), pp. 11-16.
2. General Assembly Official Records, Sixteenth Session, 1051st Plenary Meeting, November 10, 1961, para 13.
3. Reported in the *Statesman*, Delhi, July 16, 1964.
4. Foreign Affairs Reports, Indian Council of World Affairs, special issue, Jawaharlal Nehru on World Affairs 1946-64, Vol. XIII, No. 6 (June 1964), p.76.

Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit categorically stated that India would vote for South Africa's expulsion from the United Nations if the issue was raised in the General Assembly.⁵ On Southern Rhodesia, one of the critical issues discussed at the last Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, India favoured the proposal for a constitutional conference with a view to giving the Africans of that country the right to run their own government. She has also demanded the release of all African leaders of Southern Rhodesia from prison and for the removal of the restrictions imposed on them. India has condemned the large-scale massacres in Angola. India's affinity with African nations has been so close that on all the 29 occasions when an issue primarily concerning Africa was put to vote in the General Assembly or the Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee during the period September 17, 1963, to December 17, 1963, India voted with the African majority.⁶

Certain other factors have also influenced India's Africa policy. There is a large number of Indians settled in Africa.⁷ Only a few thousand of these people of Indian origin are Indian nationals. With the Africanisation of civil services in the newly-independent African countries, particularly in East Africa, civil servants of Indian origin are facing a difficult situation. Many of them have already returned to India. The Indian business community in Africa—the larger section of Indian business settlers—also faces an uncertain future. The Africans are naturally unhappy to see most of the business transacted in their own countries in the hands of people from outside. With the alarming rate of growth of its population, India will not find it possible to absorb all those who want to come back to India, especially since neighbouring countries like Burma and Ceylon are giving no better treatment to the people of Indian descent settled there. So the Government of India has been trying to impress upon Indian settlers abroad the need to identify themselves with the people of those countries. Mr. Nehru said in the Lok Sabha (Lower House of the Indian Parliament) in December 1957 : “.....that Indians abroad—I am not talking of South Africa, but of people who went to East Africa or other places—should always consider the interest of the people of that country as first ;that is not only a policy which I consider the right one, but the only practical policy”.⁸ Reiterating the same policy seven years later, Mr. Dinesh Singh, India's Deputy Minister for External Affairs, said in the Lok Sabha : “.....those people of Indian origin who wish to stay in those countries (he was referring to East African countries) must identify themselves completely with the people of those countries and with the aspirations of those people.”⁹

5. Reported in the *Hindustan Times*, Delhi, September 24, 1963.

6. See Dr. Robert G. Gregory, *The Friendly Neighbour : India's Stand in the U.N. on African Issues during 1963*, AICC Economic Review, Vol. XVI, No. 2 (June 25, 1964), p. 27.

7. There are at present 500,000 people of Indian origin in South Africa, 1,87,000 in Kenya, 87,300 in Tanganyika, 65,960 in Uganda, 16,000 in Zanzibar, 13,000 in Madagascar, 10,800 in Malawi (Nyasaland), 6,500 in Northern Rhodesia, 7,360 in Southern Rhodesia, 2,100 in Ethiopia, 1,200 in Somalia, and 500 in Burundi.

8. Lok Sabha Debates, Second Series, Vol. X No. 28, December 17, 1957, Col. 6011.

9. Lok Sabha Debates, Third Series, Vol. XXV, No. 9, February 20, 1964, Col. 1737.

He added : "Those who wish to come to India and are eligible to come are welcome to come when they want".¹⁰ It is in the interest of people of Indian descent settled in African countries that India should have friendly relations with those countries and support them on issues in which they are vitally interested.

It has been said that Indian settlers have not treated Africans on an equal footing and with respect. It is probably true that their attitude towards Africans has been governed by commercialism. Mrs. Lakshmi N. Menon, India's Minister of State for External Affairs, while addressing the International Forum in Bombay on February 4, 1964, said Indian settlers not only remained aloof from the freedom struggles in African countries, but they isolated themselves even when those countries achieved independence.¹¹ Some responsible African leaders have also criticised the attitude of Indian settlers in Africa.¹²

India has a significant economic stake in Africa. She maintains close trade relations with the U. A. R., Kenya, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, the Sudan, Tanganyika, Mozambique, Ghana, Zanzibar, and some other African countries. She has, however, an adverse balance of trade with Africa.¹³ The main item of import into India from Africa is cotton, while the main items of export from India to Africa are jute goods, tea and cotton textiles. There has been a gradual decline in African imports into India during recent years.¹⁴

During this period exports from India to Africa have also decreased.¹⁵ In fact, India's share in the African continent's imports was less than two per cent last year.¹⁶ The Government of India has been trying to boost its exports to African countries. With the increasing competition in jute goods from Pakistan, in textiles from Japan and in tea from East Africa's plantations, India has been keen to cultivate African markets for her engineering equipment and electrical goods. In January 1962 the first Indian trade show-room in Africa was opened in Nairobi. Now there are permanent export promotion show-rooms in Lagos, Mombassa and other African cities. India has organised and participated in trade fairs and exhibitions in Africa. The Reserve Bank of India in a study last year drew the attention of the Government of India to the promotion of export of new categories of goods (engineering and electrical goods etc).¹⁷ These goods now constitute one-quarter of the total exports from India to Africa. The over-all picture of India's

10. loc. cit.

11. See Africa Diary, March 7-13, 1964, p. 1644.

12. See Oginga Odinga, African Feelings, Seminar No. 10 (Indians in Africa), June 1960, p. 20.

13. The balance in 1960-61 was—21,67, in 1961-62—7, 72, in 1962-63—6,10 and in 1963-64—4,64 (value in lakhs of rupees).

14. The imports in 1960-61 were of the value of 70, 68, in 1961-62 64,04, in 1962-63, 56,29 and in 1963-64, 50,97 (value in lakhs of rupees).

15. The exports in 1960-61 were of the value of 49,01, in 1961-62 56,32, in 1962-63, 50,19 and in 1963-64 46,33 (value in lakhs of rupees).

16. See the Statesman, Delhi, July 13, 1964, editorial, Trade with Africa.

17. For a summary of this study see Eastern Economist, April 12, 1963, p. 744 a.

exports to Africa, however, remains unsatisfactory. Long-term bilateral trade agreements, effective market research, and introduction of cost-reducing methods have been suggested for improving India's exports to Africa.¹⁸

The role of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa towards the end of the 19th century and in the beginning of the present century has also made Indians keenly interested in African affairs. Mahatma Gandhi founded the Natal Indian Congress in 1894 and led a non-violent movement against the apartheid policy of the South African Government for nearly a decade (1906-1914). It is but natural that Indians should feel concerned with the problems of a continent where their greatest leader started and perfected the technique of Satyagraha.

Prof. Vernon McKay, an expert on Africa, giving an analysis of India's Africa policy in his book "Africa in World Politics" refers to "the Indian urge to play a leading role in world affairs".¹⁹ "In the United Nations", writes Prof. McKay, "where Indian delegates endeavoured to identify themselves with African aspirations, India found a forum for exercising this leadership and winning the friendship of Africans, at least until the new African states in the U.N. took over their own causes".²⁰ While it is not possible to ignore altogether Prof. McKay's view, this motivation of India's Africa policy should not be over-emphasised. The urge to play a leading role in world affairs no doubt has been one of the important conditioning factors in India's foreign policy. But this is true of the foreign policies of most nations of the world. India has tried to express this urge more by the pursuit of the policy of non-alignment than by any other aspect of her foreign policy. At any rate, the desire for a leading role in world affairs has played a secondary part in influencing her Africa policy. Besides, as Prof. McKay admits, the new African states have taken up their own causes and this has affected India's position somewhat. It may be observed, however, that India's interest in Africa has not waned; in fact, it has increased much more recently because the African states consider themselves better champions of their own causes than other nations.

Prof. Frank L. Schoell, advancing a rather peculiar but interesting analysis of India's interest in Africa, explains it in terms of expansionism. He writes: "The British Empire paved the way for Indian immigration, with the consent of the Indian Government, to solve the labour problem of the colonies. The question now is whether New Delhi will be moderate and resist the temptation of using their natural outposts all round the Indian Ocean for political purposes".²¹ India has been opposing all types of colonialism and expansionism. To presume that the decline of British sea power in the Indian Ocean would be utilised by India for filling the vacuum by her potential sea power would be carrying the argument too far. Moreover, there has been no emigration from India to South Africa during the last 50 years and very restricted

18. The Reserve Bank of India made these suggestions in its study referred to above.

19. Vernon McKay, *Africa in World Politics*, New York, Harper & Row, 1963, p. 185.

20. Loc. cit.

21. Frank L. Schoell, *India's Policy*, Kenya Weekly News, February 10, 1956, p. 3.

emigration to East and Central Africa during the last decade. Therefore, with the doors to Indian emigration to Africa practically closed, the assertion that India has designs of expansionism in any part of Africa does not hold water.

Recently a new factor has entered the African situation. It is the Chinese quest for hegemony in Africa. China is trying to carve out a sphere of influence in Africa with the help of a well-organised propaganda machinery. China has an Africa office in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a special African Affairs Committee in the Secretariat of the Communist Party, and an Institute of African Affairs on the pattern of the Russian Institute of African Affairs. Besides, there are regular propaganda broadcasts from Peking Radio for Africa and propaganda dispatches by the New China News Agency. Chou En-lai's grand tour of Africa last winter was really in furtherance of Chinese designs over the continent.

It is not by propaganda alone that China is trying to gain influence in Africa. Her overtures in the economic field have been attractive indeed. Recently she announced a £3 million grant to Kenya plus a promise of five times as much in interest-free loans and another £5 million to Zanzibar. At the Afro-Asian Economic Conference in June 1964 China offered to Afro-Asian countries interest-free loans and economic aid in other forms. She has also announced her readiness to negotiate long-term contracts for buying manufactured and semi-manufactured goods on "very advantageous" terms. She can boost her exports by imposing severe restrictions on her domestic consumption. However, in view of the economic stresses China herself is experiencing, it is doubtful whether she will be able to fulfil her promises to the underdeveloped Afro-Asian countries to any appreciable extent.

The Chinese tactics in Africa are bound to influence the Africa policy of the Government of India. Communist China wants to dominate not only Asia but also Africa. Keeping this in view, India should strengthen her economic and diplomatic relations with African countries²² and make a re-appraisal of her Africa policy.

22. India has 25 diplomatic missions in Africa, while there are only eight African nations, including the United Arab Republic and Morocco, which are represented in New Delhi. The other six countries are : Ethiopia, Ghana, Nigeria, the Sudan, Algeria and Tanganyika.

Kenya and the Immigrants

by S. P. CHOWDHRY

NATIONALISM is the most dominant factor influencing the rhythm of change in vast stretches of the continent of Africa. While it represents an emotional reaction and hostility of the native people to Western imperialism it aims at abolishing alien sway from all spheres of African life. The dramatic resurgence of self-confidence and the urge for self-expression, so prominent in these countries, appear to outsiders as something astounding.

It is but natural that the Africans of Kenya should be getting very sensitive about their rights and privileges and should be showing concern about the immigrant races. The present atmosphere in Kenya has generated a clash not only of moral rights and privileges but also of hysterical emotions. This growing animosity, this friction between the natives of Kenya and the immigrants is partly due to misunderstandings on the part of Africans (created and accentuated to a great extent by imperialists) and partly due to the ignorance of the emergent African sentiments on the part of immigrants.

I. Europeans in Kenya

Though several of its coastal cities were known to the outside world for hundreds of years much of the interior of Kenya was unknown, except to Arab traders, slave raiders and Indian adventurers, until the mid-19th century when Kenya was invaded by explorers, Christian missionaries and imperialists. The history of the white settlement in Kenya is a chequered one. First came explorers like Burton, Speke, Grant and Stanley ; then groups of missionaries poured in followed by traders. With the passage of time the traders acquired the complexion of imperialists. There is a striking analogy between the history of British rule in India and British expansion in Kenya and other parts of East Africa. As in India, so in Kenya, the British started with commerce. The Imperial British East Africa Company reminds us of the British East India Company with its policies, criteria and implications. The only remarkable difference is that in East Africa, unlike in India, they took a comparatively short time in changing over from commerce to politics.

The Imperial British East Africa Company was formed in 1888 and it was on June 15, 1895, that Kenya was declared a British protectorate. This change from commerce to politics and from commercial to political destiny has been the subject of a good deal of speculation among historians. Some hold the view that the British acquired these vast territorial powers in a "fit of absent-mindedness". Others say that the motive was humanitarian, still others call it utilitarian. The plea of "absent-minded-

ness" is nothing but a fanciful idea. It is difficult to believe that European expansion in Kenya and other countries of East Africa was without intention and motive. There was indeed a purposeful and concentrated effort behind the change from commerce to politics. Again, though it is true that the charter of the Imperial British East Africa Company contained a declaration for abolition of the slave trade, it will be improper and incorrect to support this imperialism by the arch of humanitarianism. The real factors which influenced the growth and expansion of the political power of the British in Kenya and other parts of East Africa were commercial and political, inspired by the logic of imperialism. The world situation in the last two decades of the 19th century did have an effect on the destiny of Kenya. An ambitious and exuberant Germany under Kaiser William II was an important factor in influencing British colonial policy. It will not be untrue to say that the German ambitions in Africa provoked the British to strike the first blow.

Thus Kenya came in the grip of colonialism with little opposition. It is not possible here to go into a detailed examination of the various facets of British colonialism in Kenya, which had hardly passed the half-century mark when it became redundant.

The present antagonism marking the relations between Europeans and Africans in Kenya is understandable because it has flowed from history and the policies of white settlers in that country. Various factors are responsible for this animosity.

While dealing with these factors, one cannot be oblivious of the imperialistic policies followed by the British and their implications. Though independence has been given to Kenya by the British Government, the bitter memory of colonial rule is still clinging to the African mind. We know from history that just as in other countries of the world, in Kenya too the British came with their fantastic notions of the superiority of their race, culture and religion. They exploited the Africans politically, economically and culturally. The present antagonism is the fruit of the tree of imperialism, the seed of which was sown some 80 years ago and nourished and watered during the last seven decades or so.

It is true that one cannot ignore the good results which ensued from the presence of the British in Kenya but one cannot overlook the fact that they came as by-products. The civilising influence of the West woke up the Africans from their long slumber, educated them and made them conscious of their political and national destiny. From this came the urge for freedom and liberty and the Africans started detesting foreign domination. In the words of an African historian, "The struggle is not one between black and white but rather a natural struggle between the dominator and the dominated. What is involved is not whiteness or blackness, but the determined desire to dominate and the equally determined desire to throw off the yoke of domination."¹

1. Ndabaningi Sithole, *African Nationalism*, Oxford University Press.

In other words, the enlightenment born as a by-product of colonialism became a potent factor in influencing the relations between the Africans and the white immigrants.

All assumptions of superiority fell before this new and stirring enlightenment and thus "race superiority became less convincing as it became more widely understood that white men fought each other to settle their national rivalry, much as the tribes had always done in their own sphere."²

Another factor which has strained the relations between these two races in Kenya is land. Land has been the curse of Kenya ever since Delamere's first acquisition.³ The whites always tried in one way or another to get the best land and this the Africans naturally resented. In 16 months (1903-4) 220,000 Highland acres was transferred to 234 individual Europeans and huge tracts—blocks of 300,000 acres or more—went to European syndicates.⁴ With the passage of time more and more of the Highland tracts came to be possessed by the white settlers. The Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915 empowered the Governor to veto land transactions between different races, which in practice closed the door to any Indian access to the Highland area. General Northey, Governor, seemed to share the view of the white settlers that Kenya was destined to become a self-governing territory in the hands of its tiny white minority. The process of acquiring a monopoly over the Highland area, the most fertile arable land in Kenya, gradually created resentment in the minds of the natives. In this connection a large-scale map of Kenya, on which areas affected by the tsetse fly are marked, makes interesting reading. Hardly an inch of the territory reserved for European settlement is under the fly. But the African areas all over Kenya, the habitat of tribes like the Meru and the Embu, are thickly infested with the tsetse fly.⁵ The monopoly of the Highland area by the white settlers is one of the factors which have adversely affected the economic life of the Africans.

In his first major public statement, Mr. Kenyatta told more than 100,000 people at a Nairobi rally in September 1961—the first political meeting he was addressing in the city after about 10 years—that the "land which was taken from us must be given back."⁶ Stronger views on the question were expressed by Mr. Paul Ngei at a press conference on Sept. 19, 1961, when he said, "You must condemn those who give assurances to Europeans that the land they hold is theirs."

Africans have a deep feeling for land. This is true of all primitive societies which have an intense emotional attachment to land. It is not only the material but also the spiritual being of their personalities that is closely connected with land.

"The spirits of their ancestors continue to dwell and have their influence in the tribal lands. And what is perhaps more important in a society

2. George Delf, *Asians in East Africa*, p. 34, London Institute of Race Relations, 1963.

3. John Gunthur, *Inside Africa*, p. 313.

4. *Land Hunger in Kenya*, by Mbiyu Koinange and Achieng Oneko, a pamphlet published in London by the Union of Democratic Control.

5. John Gunthur, *Inside Africa*, p. 314.

6. An extract from the speech made by Mr. Kenyatta at Nairobi in Sept., 1961.

which has not yet advanced to a more modern cash economy land is the insurance for old age.”⁷

In the words of Mr. Eliud Mathu, “It is on the land that the African lives and it means everything to him. The African cannot depend for his livelihood on profits made through trading. We cannot depend on wages. We must go back every time to the only social security we have—the piece of land. The land stolen must be restored, because without land the future of the African people is doomed. God will hear us because that is the thing he gave us.”⁸

Though it is customary to regard Indian immigration into East Africa as stemming entirely from the building of the Kenya-Uganda Railway at the turn of the 19th century, the links of Indians with East Africa date back to more than 3,000 years⁹. It can be stated with authority that they came long before the Europeans. One of the earliest recorded navigational accounts, *Periplus of the Erythrian Sea*, circa A.D. 80, mentions Indians as well as Arab ships trading along the African coast.¹⁰ Greek travellers in the first century A.D. mention traffic in the Indian Ocean between Asia and Africa, and so, a long time later, does Marco Polo. It was an Indian pilot who guided Vasco da Gama across the Indian Ocean in 1498. Not only did Indian traders come to East Africa, but they also shipped African slaves to India. The Muslim King Gaur in Bengal (1459-1474) had about 8,000 African slaves.¹¹ Prof. Coupland, while mentioning the early contacts of Indians with East Africa, has referred to the monopoly which they had acquired in trade and commerce.

“Much of the ocean-shipping was Indian-owned and Indian-manned, and since Arabs in general seem never to have shown much aptitude for the technique of business, it is probable that the Indians were from the earliest days the masters of finance, the bankers and money-changers and money-lenders.”¹²

There is ample evidence that when Europeans started their activities in East Africa they found that the entire coastal trade was in the hands of Indians. The Indians had either come voluntarily or as agents of commercial firms. In 1841 when a representative of the Indian Government was first stationed in Zanzibar, the local Indian population was estimated at about 1,000. By 1866 the Indian community in East Africa was over 6,000 strong. Indian emigration increased with the establishment of the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1888.

7. F.D. Corfield, *Historical Survey of the Origins and Growth of Mau Mau*, p. 11.

8. An extract from the speech made by Mr. Mathu, African nominated member of the Legislative Council, in Nairobi at a combined meeting of the Kenya African Union and the East African Indian National Congress, May 1951.

9. D.B. Desai, *Indians in East Africa*, *The Indian Review*, Vol. XXI 1930.

10. George Delf, *Asians in East Africa*, p. 1.

11. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. II, Cambridge University Press, 1928, p. 268.

12. Sir R. Coupland, *East Africa and its Invaders*, London, Oxford University Press, 1938, p. 27.

In the beginning the Company authorities generally supported the settlement of Asians. Lugard was convinced that the indigenous tribes in Kenya would readily copy Asian agricultural techniques, adopt Asian implements, irrigation and manuring methods. Fitzgerald, the agronomist who undertook a survey of the coast for the Company in 1891, recommended the grant of free passages to Indian peasant farmers prepared to take up land in that area. It was felt by the Company that Indian emigration would be advantageous for Kenya's development. The question of recruitment of labour for the Kenya-Uganda Railway came up in 1890. The Company administration wanted Indian labour for the project which was to play a very important role in Kenya's future life. Attempts had been made to get labour from England as well as from Africa itself. But such attempts had met with failure. From the correspondence between the agents of the Imperial British East Africa Company and the Government of India, it is clear that the Indian administration was being persuaded to allow Indian emigration for the project. Here is a specimen from the correspondence :

"You are aware that a large number of natives of India already reside in British East Africa, for the advantages in the way of good government and kind treatment under the Company's administration, combined with the fine soil and good climate of the country, are attracting new settlers from British India."¹³

The Government of India was hesitant to relax Section 105 of the Indian Emigration Act XXI of 1883, which penalised the inducement of natives, whether under contract or not, to work outside India. A request was made by the British Government to the Indian Government in 1895 for the emigration of Indian labourers to work on the Kenya-Uganda Railway. The Governor-General, on this request from the British Government, removed all restrictions imposed under the Emigration Act XXI of 1883 on the emigration of Indian labourers to British East Africa.¹⁴

An agreement was prepared by Mr. Johns and approved by the Government of India on the basis of which the first batch of labourers left India in January 1896 for work on the Kenya-Uganda Railway. When the work of construction was completed in 1903, about 6,724 Indians settled down in East Africa as agriculturists, artisans and traders; the rest either returned to India or died.

It is quite clear from records that the policy of the Company (East Africa Company) and the British Government from 1888 to 1903 was one of encouragement to Asians. In 1896, Cranford at Mombassa asked if Asian agriculturists, who were being sent away from Natal, could be diverted to East Africa to help develop the country. In 1899, John Ainsworth sponsored a plan to develop the vacant lands near the railway in Ukambani by granting railway coolies a land bonus on the completion

13. Letter No. 406 dated 20th August, 1890, from Messrs. Mackinnon Mackenzie and Co., Agents, British East Africa Co., to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

14. Notification issued by the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India ; No. 93/2-10, dated Calcutta 17th Jan., 1896.

of their contracts. Sir Harry Johnston, who had founded small Nubian colonies along the railway line, was strongly in favour of small Indian settlements being set up there. The British Government continued its policy of encouraging Asian immigration by an annual grant but the local authorities (like Sir Charles Eliot, the first Commissioner of the East Africa Protectorate) restricted Asian settlement to areas considered unsuitable for Europeans. A committee, which was set up under John Ainsworth in 1905 to promote Asian immigration, sat at about the same time as the land committee under Lord Delamere. The Land Board of the Protectorate recommended the reservation of the Highlands for white settlement. The Asian community did not have any representation on the committee. The findings of the committee were given official form by Lord Elgin's statement the following year despite a mass protest meeting at Mombassa which demanded equal opportunities for Asians.

Thus the Europeans, who were anxious for Indian emigration to Kenya and other parts of East Africa in the beginning because they wanted Indian help, now turned to evolve a policy of discrimination.

Lord Elgin's dispatch on the land question laid down the following principle: "With regard to the granting of land to Indians, it is not consonant with the views of His Majesty's Government to impose legal restrictions on any particular section of the community but as a matter of administrative convenience grants should not be made to Indians in the upland areas."¹⁵

Lord Elgin's decision related only to initial grants of land in the Highlands but the terms of the decision were later extended to prohibit the transfer of land in this area to non-Europeans. In 1915 was passed the Lands Ordinance by which a check was placed on the alienation of land to Indians by empowering the Governor to veto transactions between parties of different races. The Nairobi Convention of European associations held in January 1919 requested the Secretary of State for the Colonies not to allow Indians to acquire land except in townships or on short leases. In August 1920, Lord Milner declared that one of the main points of policy was the recognition of the right of occupation of the reserved portion of the Highlands by the Europeans to the exclusion of Asians. All these latter policies make one believe that what was described in Elgin's despatch as "a matter of administrative convenience" was in reality a step towards a policy of discrimination.

Preferential treatment was given in every sphere to European settlers and the Indian community was relegated more and more to a position of political, social and, so far as possible, economic subordination. As early as 1921, Mr. H.S.L. Polak said: "Today, the Indian settlers are political helots enjoying no important civic rights and placed under numerous humiliating and invidious disabilities."¹⁶

15. Quoted from Gangulee, N. *Indians in the Empire Overseas*, p. 92.

16. An extract from the paper read by Mr. H.S.L. Polak before the East Indian Association in London on May 23; Lord Chelmsford presided. Published in the *Indian Review*, Vol. XXII, 1921, pp. 433-441.

It was natural for the Indian community in Kenya to resent these discriminatory policies of the white settlers of Kenya and of the British Government. One result of this resentment was that the British Government started rationalizing its stand. And thus the doctrine of trusteeship of the natives was evolved. The Imperial Government issued a 'White Paper'¹⁷ in which it elaborated this doctrine and stated that in adjudicating the varied interests in East Africa, the policy of the Government should always be directed to protecting the natives whose welfare must be of paramount consideration. This document, replete with lofty ideals, was a smoke-screen for deceiving the natives and the Indian community.

There were other measures which reflected this policy of discrimination against the Indian community. The levying of a prohibitive immigration and repatriation fee was nothing but a device to check Indian immigration. The Kenya Immigration Restriction Ordinance (Amending) Act of 1938 raised the amount of the security deposit from £ 50 to £ 500. Further, it armed minor police officials with arbitrary powers in dealing with Indians.

Discrimination continued in various garbs in the political, social and economic spheres. We find Shamsud-Deen expressing the feelings of the Indian community in a debate in the Legislative Council of 1944 thus :

"What is there to attract any self-respecting Indian to come to this colony ?.....Take this council. Even in this corner of the Council anybody coming into the hall can smell the odour of untouchability.....The tuppenny hotels in Nairobi are closed to us, whereas the best hotels in India and England are open to us"¹⁸

As late as 1960 there was discrimination against the Indian community. The Asians began demanding equal representation with the Europeans in the Government of the East African colony of Kenya. The demand was put before the London Conference (January 1960) which discussed a new constitution for the territory. In 1960 the elected members of Kenya's Legislative Council comprised 14 Europeans, 14 Africans, 6 Asians add 2 Arabs. The population figures for this year were as follows :

	Africans	Asians	Europeans	Arabs	Others
A	6,171,000	169,900	66,400	37,100	6000
B	6,000,000	170,000	70,000	36,000	—
C	6,500,000	130,000	45,000	—	—

The following statistics have been given in the Kenya Government's recently published report on the 1962 census. Africans : 8,365,942 ; Asians : 76,613 ; Europeans 55,759.

17. Indians in Kenya. Cmd. 1922 of 1923.

18. Kenya Legislative Council debate, 18th April, 1944.

A. According to the Statesman, 30th Jan., 1960.

B. According to an article published in the HINDU, dated 12th Feb., 1960.

C. According to an article contributed by S. Prakasa Rao to the Hindustan Times, dated 18th Sept., 1960.

The Asian community has played a remarkable rôle in Kenya's history. By their perseverance, efficiency and good conduct, Indian traders and settlers gained the confidence and respect of the native population while opening up the interior of Kenya.

Sir John Kirk in his evidence before the Sanderson Committee (appointed by the Colonial Office in 1909) stated: "But for the Indians we should not be there now. It was entirely through being in possession of the influence of these Indian merchants that we were enabled to build up the influence that eventually resulted in our position."¹⁹

Though British capital and engineering skill were engaged in the building of the Kenya-Uganda Railway, which opened up the interior for fuller development, the construction of the railway was made possible only by Indian organisation, enterprise and labour. There is no exaggeration in saying that the British could not have administered this colony without the helping hand of Indians. The Indians worked not only as traders but also as skilled labourers, garage owners, contractors, lawyers, post-office clerks, linotypists and railway officials. Above all, they filled the middle sections of the civil service and bureaucracy.

The Indian community in Kenya also played a significant role in the agricultural life of the country. African farmers adopted Asian techniques and methods. A substantial contribution was made by Asians to the agricultural economy of the country, notably in the sugar sector of the plantation industry.

It was Asians again who introduced trade where it had not existed before. Even the East African Royal Commission of 1953-55 acknowledged this in the following words: "Indeed, the remarkable tenacity and courage of Indian traders had been mainly responsible for stimulating the wants of the indigenous peoples, even in the remotest areas, by opening to them a shop window on the modern world and for collecting for sale elsewhere whatever small surpluses were available for disposal."²⁰

There is hardly a town in Kenya that is without a lively, colourful line of Indian shops. Cities like Nairobi and Mombassa look like Indian commercial centres. In big cities as well as small townships we find Indian 'dukas' whose owners have been instrumental in introducing the products of Asia and Europe to the African in the remotest corners of Kenya.

It will not be an exaggeration to say that the Indian community in Kenya, by protesting against the discriminatory policies of the white settlers, helped in rousing African consciousness. Indians had fought against racial discrimination, reservation of the Highlands for European settlements and franchise restrictions. All this resulted in creating political consciousness among the Africans of Kenya.

The relations between Indians and Africans were cordial and smooth till 1955. But thereafter a process of deterioration started. There were various factors responsible for this state of affairs.

19. Quoted from Gangulee, N., *Indians in the Empire Overseas*, p. 28.

20. Report of the East African Royal Commission, 1953-55, p. 65.

The first factor is African nationalism. UHURU (freedom) is the new light influencing the relations of Africans with the immigrant races. The Africans of Kenya now want that they should be called *bwana* (boss).

We find Mr. Kenyatta saying: "Our time has come to be called *bwana* (boss). I want Europeans, Asians, and Arabs to learn to call Africans *bwana*."²¹

Secondly, the Africans of Kenya consider Indians as their competitors in the economic sphere. It is said that the grudge that Africans bear against Asians is derived mainly from the latter's position in trade and commerce. The African complains that the presence of the Asian trader is largely responsible for the economic humiliation that he has suffered all these years.

Thirdly, some political leaders in Kenya are anti-Indian in their outlook. Their statements in the Press and speeches at public meetings have created misunderstandings. They proclaim that Asians are holding clerical and artisan jobs that could be filled by Africans and that this is holding up African advancement. A complicating factor in this situation is the attitude of Europeans, some of whom have been making a concentrated effort to cause a split between Indians and Africans. The reason perhaps is that by creating such a split they want to divert the attention of Africans away from themselves.

III. Prospects

It is necessary to know something of the developments in the past if the present is to make sense, but for the immigrants living in Kenya today it is the immediate future which matters most. Will they have a place of security and respect in independent Kenya? Or will there be a slow squeezing out of their rights and resources until the community is driven out by poverty and degradation? Is the presence of the immigrants essential for Kenya's prosperity and happiness in the immediate future? These are questions on the answers to which hangs the destinies of the immigrants and Kenya.

Let us take the last question first and try to answer it. Kenya's economic stability is closely linked with the stability and security of the immigrant races. We find that at present there is a crisis of confidence. It is imperative for Kenya's economy and future that African politicians should pacify the fears and sense of insecurity experienced by the immigrant races. Otherwise there is a danger of Asian capital fleeing the country. If this happens there will not be many people wanting to buy farms and land values will almost cease to have any meaning. But, on the other hand, if the immigrants are assured of security, they, by their experience and skill, can really play an important role in Kenya's development by sharing the burden of reconstruction.

The answers to the first and second questions depend to a great extent on the conduct of the immigrants themselves.

21. The Daily Telegraph, 29th Jan., 1962.

They should not prove themselves to be obstacles in the path of African aspirations. While warning the Europeans in a public speech on 9th March, 1960, Mr. Mboya said : "Unless they are responsive to the wishes, aspirations, thoughts and feelings of our people, they are making it impossible for us to generate that atmosphere."²²

The immigrants should see Kenya as their home and should be proud of being called Kenyans. They should not consider themselves as a separate community but should do everything in their power for a harmonious adjustment with the African community in Kenya.

22. The Times, 10th March, 1960.

South African Indians and Citizenship :

A Historical Survey—1855-1934

by BRIDGLAL PACHAI

THE story of South Africa began with the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope nearly 500 years ago by the Portuguese navigator, Bartholomew Diaz, who was in search of an ocean route to the East for the purpose of direct trade with the Indies. Ten years later, Vasco da Gama, following the same course, succeeded in passing Natal on his way to India. And then, on 6th April, 1652, Jan van Riebeeck and his party took the first effective steps to occupy Table Bay and its environs. Here they found the only people who could claim to have been part of the indigenous population of the country: the Bushmen and the Hottentots. Others who came to South Africa that year and in succeeding years—the Dutch, the French, the Germans, the Bantu, the British and the Indians—came, either of their own accord or at the behest of others, to help build a South African nation on land that held out a great promise to them.

The last in the line of the early organised immigrants to come to this country, the Indians had been preceded by the first European immigrants only by some 200 years.

Before the Indians became South Africans they were Natalians. The little colony of Natal had a succession of rulers before the Indians came : from the Zulus it passed to the Voortrekkers and from the Voortrekkers to the British who ruled it as an appendage of the Cape Colony till 1856. In that year Natal had its own parliament and in 1893 its own Responsible Government. Finally, it became a part of the Union in 1910.

When the British took over Natal in 1843 the native population of the colony was nearly 100,000. The European population was between one and two thousand. There was a gradual emigration of the Dutch from Natal during and after the British annexation of the colony. It was only the arrival of some 5,000 British settlers from the British Isles during the years 1849-1851, supplemented by further arrivals from the Cape Colony, that increased the white population to about 8,000 in the year Natal was separated from the Cape Colony, i. e. four years before the first Indians arrived.

The infant colony of Natal, with its large native population and a trickle of white people, had considerable mineral and agricultural wealth. There was coal to be had in abundance in the Northern Districts if only railway transport would make this a paying and feasible proposition. Agriculture offered the greatest hope for future prosperity; in the Uplands maize showed promise. "On the coast a vigorous contest was waged

between arrowroot, indigo, cotton, coffee and sugar".⁽¹⁾ It was sugar which finally became the king on the coast. And this kingdom in time developed into a vast empire, for which faithful and conscientious servants had to be found.

In Natal, land was plentiful; experience in farming was not wanting; money was available. Only labour was lacking. Yet Natal had about 100,000 natives to serve a handful of white farmers. Why, then, the insufficiency?

Let us hear one answer from no less an authority than Bishop Colenso, Bishop of Natal, who, six years before the first Indians arrived, said:

"When natives have been in service for four or five months, however pressing may be their master's circumstances, however earnest his entreaty for them to remain at their post, they will be off for six weeks or two months together to re-visit their native kraals and resume their native habits. No doubt, this habit is attended with serious inconveniences. The farmer is perhaps deserted at the most critical time: or if the settler be engaged in trade no sooner does the kaffir become expert at it than his time is up and he is gone"²

The explanation for this phenomenon of labour shortage lies in the following factors:

1. The innate habits of the Zulu, as epitomised in Bishop Colenso's words;
2. The attitude of the British Government;
3. The policy of the man on the spot—Theophilus Shepstone—who virtually ruled the native population for over thirty years;
4. The psychological attitude of the Europeans to manual labour.

Of these four points the only ones which need any amplification are the second and the third.

The attitude of the British Government is explained in the following words:

"Natal was annexed as a wedge between the Zulu nation and the Cape Colony and between the Boer republics and the sea. In its beginnings were to be made in 'the civilization and improvement of the inhabitants of this part of Africa'. It was to be a native country. That it was, too, a struggling European colony was of secondary importance".³

The policy of Theophilus Shepstone was to restore tribal authority by segregation and retribalisation. The natives were apportioned to

1. Thomson, *Indian Immigration*, page 4.

2. Ferguson-Davie, *The Early History of Indians*, pp. 1-2.

3. Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

reserves where they were able to maintain their traditional economy. Natal was to consist of two water-tight compartments, one Native and the other European. The position seemed to be what it was at the Cape a generation or so earlier when the Hottentots were encouraged to live at mission stations when their labour was required by the Dutch farmers.

The labour problem was a canker eating into the economic life of Natal. At a time when some 300,000 labourers were required, only 6,000 natives were available. The labour situation was quite clear; if there was any inefficiency or insufficiency within, the alternative was quite obvious. Mauritius had shown the way and the lesson was not lost on Natal. Mauritius had started importing labour from India since 1834 when slave labour was abolished.

But Natal had other plans for the present. In any case, it was not still master of its own house and had to receive its instructions and laws from the Cape Colony.

During the decade before the Indians came to Natal various schemes to import labour from the West were suggested. When these failed, the focus of attention was turned on the East which offered an inexhaustible reservoir of efficient labour as proved by the experience of Mauritius since 1834.

When the Cape Governor, Sir George Grey, came on a visit to Natal in 1855, the Durban Corporation appealed to him to arrange for the importation of immigrant labour from the East. The Governor was most enthusiastic for he had been to Mauritius and had seen for himself the reliability and usefulness of Indian labour. He was reported to have said at that time "that a due proportion of the sexes would be provided for, and he did not doubt that the coolie families would remain as industrious settlers after their term of service expired".⁴

This was the first important statement at official level on Indian immigrant labour and it is significant that there is no mention of any temporary arrangement and that a permanent settlement was foreshadowed by Grey.

However, Indian immigrant labour was not to be had merely for the asking: there was a complicated procedure to follow. Governor Grey had to report to his Cape Government and then write at Government level to India and to England. The Government of India, till 1858, was in the hands of the British East India Company. In England, all emigration matters in British colonies had been in the hands of the Land and Emigration Commission since 1840. Theoretically, the British Government was the final authority, but in practice this authority was often delegated to others. The first moves which were started by Governor Grey had to pass all these channels before final approval could be had to send out labourers from India to Natal. Even then, the first moves failed because of objections from Indians themselves on the following grounds:

1. Mauritius and the West Indian colonies offered them greater advantages.

4. Ferguson-Davie, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

2. There was an abundant demand for labour in India itself.
3. There was a higher rate of wages in India as compared to the prospects held out for them in Natal.
4. There was no satisfactory information on the wages to be allowed to labourers in Natal.

When news of this refusal reached Natal, the Colony had already separated from the Cape Colony and had its own Government. Some planters felt that having a new Government gave Natal sufficient reason to adopt a forced native labour policy. But the hopes were dashed when the British Government opposed this policy. There seemed no way out for the Natal Government but to negotiate once again for Indian labour. In 1858 the British Government had taken over the rule of India from the East India Company. Natal had its own Government. All things pointed towards a more favourable result for Natal this time. The Natal Government passed three laws with the prior knowledge and approval of the Governments of Great Britain and India, namely, Laws 13, 14 and 15, to bring out Indian immigrant labour to Natal. Of these, Law 14 was the principal law under which indentured Indian immigrant labourers were brought out to Natal. In terms of this law, the Government was to pay all initial moneys required for the immigration of Indian labourers; the employers were to re-pay these moneys in instalments. The immigrants were to complete five years' service at wages not less than ten shillings per month.

Five years after their arrival in Natal they were to become free men. Ten years after their arrival they were to be entitled to free passages back to India. If they preferred to remain in Natal, nothing in the law would compel them to return to India. If they preferred to remain in Natal after ten years, the Governor could, at his discretion, grant them crown lands equivalent in value to the cost of the free return passage. They were to be provided with medical care, rations and lodging by their employers.

The first ship, the S.S. *Truro*, set sail from Madras on 12th October, 1960, with 187 men, 89 women and 54 children—a total of 340—and arrived in Durban on 16th November, 1860. Except for a temporary break between the years 1866 and 1874 the stream of indentured Indian immigrant labour flowed without interruption till it was discontinued in July 1911. In all, 152,184 Indians arrived as indentured labourers.

That the Indians came to South Africa on invitation and on contract cannot be gainsaid; similarly, the responsibility for their coming must rest with the Governments of India, Natal and Great Britain—the original contracting parties.⁵

Dr. Mabel Palmer, who worked zealously in the interests of a later generation of South African Indians, wrote of this immigration as being “no spontaneous uncontrollable movement of adventurous individuals seeking a better livelihood than their home country gave them. It was part of an elaborate system organised and controlled by the Governments of Great Britain and India . . .”⁶

5. Govt. of India, *Memo presented to United Nations*, Doc. A/68.

6. Mabel Palmer, *The History of Indians in Natal*, p. 4.

That is the verdict of history in so far as the indentured labourers were concerned. Though the labourer class was imported by the Natal Government on a contract basis, it was later to be confused with those who did not come to this country as indentured labourers but who were, nevertheless, the natural concomitant to the indentured and free labourers. These were the "Free Passenger" Indians who came to Natal under the ordinary immigration laws, paying their own passages and enjoying the same citizenship rights as the Europeans and other non-whites until this was changed. These Indians belonged primarily to the Mohamedan trading community. They came mostly from the Bombay Presidency in India, though some of them had been in Mauritius for a few years. It was quite natural for Indian traders to follow in the wake of indentured and free Indian labourers to supply them with Indian goods.

Though it is difficult to single out these Mohamedan and other Indian traders as their number was always included in the "Free" Indian population figures, it is safe to say that they constituted a small minority of the Indian population.

To illustrate the point: in 1893—the year Natal was granted Responsible Government—the population figures were as follows: Europeans 45,000, Indians 46,000, and Natives 470,000. Of the 46,000 Indians, some 5,500 belonged to the Mohammedan community of traders.

Though they constituted a very small number, the business acumen and the success and prosperity of these traders startled the local European population to such a degree that a commission was appointed to enquire into matters pertaining to Indians. Part of the Wragg Commission's report read as follows :

"We are convinced that much of the irritation existing in the minds of European colonists against the whole Indian population of the colony has been excited by the undoubted ability of these Arab traders to compete with European merchants".

This irritation was no doubt accentuated by the rapid growth in the Indian population from 6,000 in 1870 to over 30,000 in 1885, an annual average increase of 1,600, which added fear and uncertainty to the European mind. Various steps were taken by the Natal Government from the last quarter of the 19th century to make Natal safe from the prospect of what the Europeans feared was an Asiatic invasion or intrusion into what was deemed to be essentially a European colony. These steps affected both the indentured and the free Indian population. What white Natal thought of both these classes of Indians is best exemplified in the words of the Commission of 1885-1887 :

"Our enquiries have satisfied us that there is in this colony an undoubted preponderance of opinion that the Indian immigrant should remain under indenture during the whole period of his residence within the colony. The majority of white colonists are strongly opposed to the presence of the free Indian as a rival and

competitor, either in agricultural or commercial pursuits.Some angrily demand that the introduction of Indian emigrants shall forthwith cease....."⁸

These words are most significant. They contain in a nutshell the case of the Europeans in Natal against the Indians in the colony. Let us see what this European attitude really demanded at this time. To get a clear picture, we shall look at the position in two parts : firstly, as it affected the indentured Indian and, secondly, as it affected the free Indian.

The Indentured Indian

1. He was welcome to stay in Natal only in his capacity as an indentured Indian labourer.

2. He could stay as long as he wished to by renewing his indentures. The Attorney-General of Natal, Mr. Harry Escombe, said on this point in 1895 :

".....We understand generally that it was the wish of the colony that, if these Indians are brought here, they are brought here for the purpose of supplying labour which is necessary for the development of local industries and enterprises, and they are not to form a part and parcel of the South African nation..... The Indians are to come here appreciated as labourers but not welcomed as settlers and competitors".⁹

The Free Indian

1. He was not welcome in Natal.

2. If he had to be tolerated, his rights and privileges and opportunities had to be cut down or limited.

After Natal was granted Responsible Government in 1893, it did everything possible to see that the wishes of the white colonists in regard to the Indians were carried out. These wishes, in short, were that the Indians should remain as indentured labourers only and that the lot of the free and the "passenger" Indians should be made extremely difficult. The steps taken by the Natal Government in accordance with these wishes were :

1. The Natal Government sent a delegation to India in 1893 to arrange with the Indian Government for the return to India of labourers who did not wish to reindenture for further periods of service in Natal.

2. The mission failed because the Indian Government could not agree to being a party to what they termed as "the sucked orange" policy ; that is that after the best years of a labourer's life were spent in the service of Natal, he should be dispatched to India. When the Natal delegation failed to arrive at an undertaking with the Indian Government on this point, the Natal Government imposed a residential tax of £3 in 1895, to be paid by those Indians who decided to remain in Natal as free Indians after

8. Ibid.

9. Henderson, *Speeches of Harry Escombe*, pp. 292-3.

their indentures had expired. In 1903 the tax was extended to children also—boys of the age of 16 and girls of the age of 13.

3. The grant of free crown lands, in lieu of free return passages to India, permitted by law to those Indians who remained in the colony as labourers for ten years was revoked in 1891. Only fifty Indians in the history of indentured Indian immigrant labour to Natal received such grants of land, although, by the time the law was revoked, 13,000 Indians had applied for crown lands in lieu of free return passages to India.

4. In 1896 Indians were deprived of parliamentary franchise in Natal. Though a handful of them would have qualified for it, the denial of franchise meant the denial of a permanent place in South Africa.

5. In 1897 the Immigration Restriction Act, 1/1897, was passed after two shiploads of free "passenger" Indians, numbering 611, came to Natal in December 1896 by the "Courland" and the "Naderi". Mahatma Gandhi was one of the 611. He was returning to Natal with his wife and children after spending six months in India in 1896 on leave from his duty in Natal. European demonstrators tried to prevent the landing of this contingent which they looked upon as representing well-laid out plans by Gandhi to swamp Natal by introducing free Indian immigrants from India. This, however, was not the case. The episode was used to give vent to the desires of colonists to restrict the entry of free Indians into Natal.

6. The next decisive step was intended to affect the Indian trader. This class of Indian has always come in for much criticism and opposition. The progress made by the Indian trader in Natal was quite phenomenal : in 1870 there were only two retail stores run by Indians in Natal. In 1885 the number had risen to 66. The complaints generally levelled against the Indian trader by the European trader were that he competed unfairly and that he had lesser over-head expenses. On the question of competition, it is interesting to recall the views of Mr. Harry Escombe, who later became Prime Minister of Natal. He said in 1884 :

"Another objection is that they compete in trade. I wish with all my heart that they could compete more, because competition is for the benefit of the country. What does it mean ? It may mean an injury to the trader, but it means a profit to the consumer, and it is an extraordinary thing the colony is so misled that it cannot see that the competition of the Indian trader is for the benefit of the whole colony".¹⁰

The final decision could not be delayed for long. In 1897 the Natal Parliament passed the Dealers' Licences Act, 18/1897. In terms of the Act arbitrary powers were granted to Licensing Officers to issue or refuse the licences applied for. The Act had the effect of causing much distress to Indians in the colony in the years following 1897. In spite of the many difficulties and disabilities, the Indian trader has survived. There are various reasons for this, some of which are quite obvious.

10. Ibid., p. 109.

It is necessary to state that although under-selling by Indians was a legitimate grievance of the European trader, it was by no means the only advantage held by the Indian trader. Let us consider the views of a European correspondent who wrote to the *Natal Mercury* before the Union of South Africa came into being :

"He (the Indian) is not part store-keeper, part farmer, part money lender. He is, above all, extremely obliging and no trouble is too great so long as the customer can be pleased. In this he is a striking contrast to great numbers of European store-keepers who, with many irons in the fire, cannot spare the time or have the inclination to put themselves out to please a customer".¹¹

These restrictive and punitive steps were the price Free Indians had to pay in order to remain in Natal. They stayed on in spite of the restrictions and difficulties. When the 20th century dawned, 53,907 Indians (excluding those who died and those who returned to India) had arrived from India from November 1860 to 31st December, 1900. Besides there were 12,018 who were born in Natal during the same period, giving Natal an Indian population in 1900 of 65,925. The European population was 64,951 and the African population 794,650. Why did the British Government, which had been a party to Indian immigration to Natal, permit these restrictions ? It was because the restrictions were not aimed against the Indian directly and exclusively. Theoretically, there was no racial bar against the Indian though in practice he was the target of the restrictive laws. The laws were general in nature and became particular only in their application. When the Natal Government tried to deprive the Asiatics of parliamentary franchise in 1894, the British Colonial Secretary delivered a strongly-worded homily to the Natal Government, from which the following excerpt is taken :

"... The United Kingdom own, as its brightest and greatest dependent, the enormous Empire of India with 300 millions of subjects, who are as loyal to the crown as you are yourselves, and among them are hundreds and thousands of men who are every bit as civilized as ourselves : who are, if that is anything, better born in the sense that they have older traditions and older families, who are men of wealth, men of culture, men of distinguished valour, men who have brought armies and placed them at the service of the Queen, and have, in times of great difficulty, saved the Empire by their loyalty. I say you who have seen all this cannot be willing to put upon them a slight, which I think is absolutely unnecessary for your purpose ..."¹²

On this point it must be said that the Indians in South Africa have not at any time accepted legal differentiation ; they have, rather, accepted administrative differentiation which does not cast any stigma on any particular race.

It was a protest on similar lines that had forced Mahatma Gandhi to start the passive resistance struggle in the Transvaal in 1907. This event, which finally spread to Natal in 1913, drew the attention of the

11. B. Pachai, *The History of the Indian Opinion*, pp. 138-9.

12. Natal Indian Congress, *Memo of Civic Status*, 1944, pp. 5-6.

world to the Indian situation in South Africa. Besides the many great sufferings which Indians withstood in the passive resistance struggle, there was the unhappy plight of indentured Indians in an indenture system which reputable authorities have likened to slavery in another guise ; there were many hardships suffered by Indian traders in Natal. All this roused grave doubts in India about the future of the free South African Indians. These doubts led Professor Gopal Krishna Gokhale, a member of the Viceroy's Council in India, to move for the abolition of indentured Indian immigrant labour to Natal on 25th February, 1910. The abolition took effect from 1st July, 1911.

This step, however, could not overnight remedy a situation fraught with so many grave complications for the South African Indians. To help in easing the conflict, Gokhale agreed to a visit to the Union in 1912. In the Union, Gokhale found that white South Africa had to be assured that the Indians did not desire to swamp the Europeans. Let us recall the words of Gokhale himself who pleaded for a compromise solution on the basis of an assurance that the Indians were not planning to swamp the Europeans, in return for which the Europeans should accord them better treatment. Gokhale said that so long as there existed in the European mind the fear of a continued influx of Indians, there could not be that frame of mind on its part which would allow of any settlement being a success.

The European mind must therefore receive, and the Indian community must be prepared to give, the necessary assurances to remove the fear on this point".¹³

It has been mentioned that if allowed to continue, Indian competition in the fields of labour and commerce would have soon threatened European control over these activities.

"If South Africa is ever to be in the widest sense a white man's country—impossible as it seems of achievement today—the advancing wave of Eastern competition must at once and for ever be turned back ; if the white races are to remain masters in their own house equally necessary is it that this legislative sea-wall be erected without delay . . ."¹⁴

Gokhale counselled in 1912 that due cognizance be taken of this European fear. He agreed in his interview with the Union Ministers that the Union Government should follow a "closed-door" policy rather than prevent the entry of fresh Indian immigrants into South Africa. In return, the Union Government should improve the lot of those Indians already resident in the country until they attained full civic rights. Gokhale was optimistic enough to believe that full civic rights would one day be granted to the resident Indian population of South Africa.

To bar the door to future Indian immigrants into South Africa, the Union Government passed the Immigrants Regulation Act in 1913. Though the Act did not refer to Asiatics as such it provided that a person could be declared a prohibited immigrant "on economic grounds or on

13. Natesan, *Speeches of Gokhale*, p. 736.

14. Alfred Barker, *The African Monthly*, Vol. IV. 1908, p. 209.

account of standard or habits of life . . . unsuited to the requirements of the Union". There was no doubt as to the real intention of the Act.

It is interesting at this stage to consider how the "closed-door" policy affected the population figures for Asiatics in South Africa (which included a small percentage of Chinese). In 1911 the percentage of Asiatics to Europeans in South Africa was 11.92. The proportion gradually dwindled down to 10.43 in 1932.

The figures for Natal are equally interesting : in 1911 the percentage of Asiatics to the total Asiatic and European population was 57.49. This proportion, too, gradually decreased until the proportion was even in 1922. By 1932, the percentage dropped to 47.34. These figures show that the dangers of an Asiatic influx no longer existed. The Prime Minister of the Union, General Smuts, recognized this fact in his speech to the Imperial War Cabinet in 1917 ; he said :

"In South Africa, there has been this fundamental trouble, that the white community have been afraid to open the door too wide to Indian immigration. We are not a homogeneous population ; we are a white population on a black continent ; and the settlers in South Africa have for many years been actuated by fear that to open the door to another non-white race would make the position dangerous indeed".¹⁵

Smuts admitted that it was not the Asiatics who were to be feared but the Africans. The preservation of white leadership and supremacy called for an uncompromising denial of rights to non-whites, whatever their origin.

The important fact to bear in mind is that there have always been efforts to keep the Indian population figures low in the country ; the £3 tax was a step in this direction ; the voluntary repatriation scheme of 1914 was another such step. This resulted in 22,783 Indians leaving South Africa for India between 1914 and 1927. Of this number, nearly one-third were South African born.

In spite of many efforts to reduce the Indian population figures and the admission by General Smuts that the difficulties were over, there came the important pronouncement from the Minister of the Interior in 1926 while introducing the Areas Reservation Bill :

"I must say that the Bill frankly starts from the general supposition that the Indian, as a race in this country, is an alien element in the population, and that no solution of this question will be acceptable to the country unless it results in a very considerable reduction of the Indian population in this country".¹⁶

It was the introduction of the Areas Reservation Bill of 1925 that was responsible for the meeting in South Africa of delegates from India and

15. South African Indian Congress, Statement to the Indian Colonization Committee 1944, p. 4.

16. Government of India, First Round-Table Conference Papers, p. 44.

the Union from 17th December, 1926, to 12th January, 1927, at what is called the First Round-Table Conference. The conference decided to increase the bonus grants to adult Indians who wished to repatriate to India from £10 to £20 and for each child to £10, a person of 16 years and over being treated as an adult. The Union Government agreed to provide free passages to India and the cost of the railway fare to the point of destination of a repatriate, and also agree to pay annual pensions to decrepit emigrants.

This assisted emigration scheme—as it was called—resulted in 13,437 Indians leaving South Africa for India between 1927 and 1933. Of these 8,463 were adults, 90% of whom were over the age of 40 years. This clearly shows that their reason for going to India was a sentimental one, namely, the desire to end their days in their motherland.

The Cape Town Agreement of 1947 contained an important clause relating to the “Upliftment of the Indian Community”. It reads :

“The Union Government firmly believe in and adhere to the principle that it is the duty of every civilised Government to devise ways and means to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities, and accept the view that, in the provision of educational and other facilities, the considerable number of Indians who will remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind any other section of the people”.

The important and obvious deduction from this clause for the purpose of establishing the claim of the South African Indian to South African citizenship rights stems from the words :

“The considerable number of Indians who will remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind any other section of the people”.

This claim reached a further stage when in 1932 the Second Round-Table Conference between the Indian and Union Governments took place in the Union, at the conclusion of which a joint statement was issued, admitting that as 80% of the Indian population of the Union was South African born, the possibility of settling them in India on the basis of repatriation was bound to fail. The Government, however, hoped to settle them in some other part of the world.

In 1932, 80 per cent of the South African Indians were born in South Africa. Any further repatriation could only be called expatriation. A faint hope was cherished by the Union Government that South African Indians would go out as settlers to some new colony or colonies across the seas. To this end, the Union Government appointed the Indian Colonization Enquiry Committee in 1933 to explore the possibilities of a colonization scheme for setting Indians, both from India and from South Africa, in other countries.

The Committee submitted its report in 1934 and recommended British North Borneo, British New Guinea and British Guiana as countries which offered reasonable prospects for settlers who desired to go there.

The Indians in South Africa were not prepared to go. Their stand is well summed up in the case submitted by the South African Indian Congress to the Indian Colonization Enquiry Committee in 1934 when it was pointed out that 80% of the South African Indian population knew no other home; in character and outlook they were Africans, having come in contact with western influence and civilisation. Their national character and aspirations were being lost gradually, the knowledge of their mother-tongue was dying out and their mode of dress and living was becoming westernized.¹⁷

And on the ordinary plane of humanity—in the conduct of one man towards another—statistical returns show that between 1926 and 1931 the convictions for serious crime by race per ten thousand of population give the Asiatics in South Africa the lowest annual average: that of 15.40% as compared to 15.45%, 32.13% and 65% for the other racial groups.¹⁸

Though it took many years after 1934 for this claim to be admitted officially by a South African Government, for the purpose of history 1934 represented the year when it became clear that the Indian in South Africa was a South African and that he was no less a South African than his counterpart who had come from Holland, Germany, France, England, Scotland or from across the equator, or from the ends of the globe.

17. South African Indian Congress, *op. cit.*

18. *Ibid.* p 6.

International Legal Aspect of the Problem of South-West Africa

by BRANIMIR M. JANKOVIC

THE problem of South-West Africa has been on the agenda of the UN General Assembly for 18 years now. Each year the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly has discussed the political and legal steps which would force the South African Republic to bring its attitude towards this mandate territory in accordance with its international obligations.

I.—*Origin and History of Dispute.*—In the second half of the 19th century South-West Africa became a German colony. At that time the Germans killed some 75 per cent of the native population, wishing to lay the foundations of a new Germany on this territory after the model of Canada. After the end of World War I, Germany¹ was forced to renounce all its colonial rights in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. With the foundation of the League of Nations the well-known graded mandate system was set up within its framework : mandates A, mandates B and mandates C. South-West Africa was included in this last group of mandates. Article 22, Paragraph 6 of the Covenant of the League of Nations says :

“Finally, there are regions such as South-West Africa and some islands in the Australian Pacific, which could, owing to the low density of their population, small area and remoteness from the centres of civilization, and to the geographical proximity to the mandatory’s territory, or to some other circumstances, be better administered only in accordance with the laws of the mandatory state, as a complementary part of its territory, under the above stipulated guarantees in favour of the native population”.

By Paragraph (7) of the same article it is stipulated that “in all these cases the mandatory is obliged to submit to the Council reports on the entrusted territories”.

It is important to point out also Paragraph 9 of this article : “One commission will be given the task of receiving and examining the mandatory’s annual reports and of giving to the Council their opinion on all questions relevant to the accomplishment of the mandate”.

On the strength of the mandate of the League of Nations for German South-West Africa of 17th December, 1920, the South African Union had acted as administrative authority over the territory of South-West Africa as the mandatory state. After World War II, however, the South African Union announced its intention to incorporate South-West Africa, demanding the agreement of the United Nations for this act. The South African Union explained its intention by claiming that she had completed her mission of a mandatory, with which the League of Nations had entrusted

1. Article 118 and the following, of the Versailles Peace Treaty.

her. Since this international organization no longer existed, according to the Union, the mandate system had also ceased to exist, and together with it the international obligations to be respected by the South African Union. The Union will, therefore, treat South-West Africa as its fifth province, claimed the delegate of the South African Union during the first part of the regular session of the United Nations General Assembly.

At several of its early sessions, the General Assembly disagreed with this attitude of the South African Union, and a number of resolutions which were passed with regard to this question never released the South African Union from the international obligations towards the territory of South-West Africa. Moreover, these resolutions invited the Union to sign the trusteeship agreement for this territory, placing it thus under the control of the United Nations, in conformity with the provisions of Chapter XII of the Charter.

Immediately a legal question arose : what is the legal consequence of the dissolution of the League of Nations with regard to the mandate of the South African Union over South-West Africa ?

The members of the United Nations have a number of times, particularly since the San Francisco Conference, voiced the opinion that the new international organization, the United Nations, has and should have no connection whatsoever with the Geneva institution. On April 18, 1946, the Assembly of the League of Nations adopted the resolution on the dissolution of the League, which, among other things, stated that the rights and duties incurred by the mandate system ceased to exist, but that the Charter, which had already been adopted at the time, contains provisions on the trusteeship system, corresponding to the mandate system of the League of Nations.

The intention of the authors of the above resolution was clear. Thus formulated, the resolution actually expressed the idea that the United Nations were the legal successor of the League of Nations, as the controlling organ in the mandate system. It also stated the similarity of the mandate and trusteeship systems. But since the resolution did not expressly provide for the transference of the function from the League of Nations to the United Nations, the South African Union claimed that the Organization of the United Nations was not the legitimate successor of the League of Nations.

In order to find a solution of this controversial legal problem, at its fourth regular session the General Assembly passed Resolution No. 338 (IV) of December 6, 1949, in which the following advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice was asked :

“What is the international status of the Territory of South-West Africa and what are the international obligations of the Union of South Africa arising therefrom, in particular :

(a) Does the Union of South Africa continue to have international obligations under the mandate for South-West Africa and, if so, in what manner, to the territory of South-West Africa ?

(b) Are the provisions of Chapter XII of the Charter applicable and, if so, in what manner, to the territory of South-West Africa ?

(c) Has the Union of South Africa the competence to modify the international status of the territory of South-West Africa, or in the event of a negative reply, where does competence rest to determine and modify the international status of the territory?"

On July 11, 1950, the International Court of Justice supplied its advisory opinion on all these questions, with the exception of the first general question, pointing out that the answer to this is contained in the answers to the three specific ones.

As regards the first of these questions, the Court was of the opinion that, contrary to the thesis of the South African Union, the dissolution of the League of Nations did not mean cancellation of the international obligations of this country. The League of Nations had created the mandate system, which actually still existed, independently of its makers. The mandates were not created for the benefit of the League of Nations, but for the benefit of the population of the territories in question. The South African Union wanted to preserve the rights conferred by such an agreement and to avoid the obligations at the same time. The Court maintained that such an attitude was impermissible. The aim of the mission which was entrusted to the South African Union remained unfulfilled and consequently also the obligations of the Union.

As regards the controlling function of the League of Nations, the Court stated the similarity between the mandate system of the League of Nations and the trusteeship system of the United Nations. According to the Charter, the General Assembly is invested with the right of control, and it has been authorized by Article 10 of the Charter to exercise the right of control also over this territory. However, the Court took the view that the obligations of the South African Union in this respect were only those incurred by the mandate. Since the trusteeship system is more rigorous than the mandate system, the Union need not necessarily comply with it. Therefore the control would have to be adjusted to the control exercised by the League of Nations.

To the second question the Court answered in the sense that the stipulations of Chapter XII of the Charter, which deals with the trusteeship system, were applicable to South-West Africa, in so far as the procedure of placing it under trust was concerned.

However, the Court was not unanimous with regard to the problem contained in this second question: is the Union in any way bound by the provisions of Chapter XII of the Charter with respect to the trusteeship agreement? The majority of judges maintained that the formulation of the Charter's articles relating to the trusteeship agreements was such that a certain territory could, but did not necessarily have to, be placed under the trust of the United Nations. According to the Charter the obligation in this case is facultative. The minority of six judges took the view that the Union was obliged to sign the trusteeship agreement with the United Nations.

The Court's answer to the third question—who is authorized to alter the status of South-West Africa?—was: According to the mandate of 1920, this could have been performed by the Union, with the consent of the League of Nations. Since the League had ceased to exist, according to

the opinion of the Court and on the strength of Article 10 of the Charter, this right belongs to the Union, with the consent of the United Nations.

At its fifth regular session the General Assembly adopted the advisory opinion of the Court. The Yugoslav delegation did not agree with this opinion, maintaining that, according to the Charter, the South African Union was obliged to place South-West Africa under the trusteeship of the United Nations, without any limitations.

On January 19, 1952, by its Resolution No. 570/A, the General Assembly set up a Special Committee to settle the question of the international status of South-West Africa. The Committee did not succeed in reaching an agreement with the South African Union. On November 28, 1953, at the eighth regular session of the General Assembly a new Committee was elected for the same task.² However, the South African Union again refused to cooperate not only with the Committee, but with the UNO as a whole.

At the tenth regular session, the Union rejected the previously adopted idea of a possible agreement with the former Allied and Associated Powers, the USA, the United Kingdom and France, and at the 11th regular session of the General Assembly the representative of the South African Union announced that his delegation would not take part in the discussion on this question, as long as the other two questions which concern their country—racial discrimination and the position of Indians in the South African Union—were still on the agenda of the Assembly.

Consequent to the refusal of the South African Union to give a hearing to the petitioners, at the tenth regular session of the General Assembly Resolution No. 942 of December 3, 1955, was adopted; in it the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the following points was asked:

“Is it consistent with the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 11 July 1950 for the Committee on South-West Africa, established by General Assembly Resolution 749A (VIII) of 28 November 1953, to grant oral hearings to petitioners on matters relating to the territory of South-West Africa?”

On June 1, 1956, the International Court of Justice gave the following advisory opinion:

“The Court holds that it would not be inconsistent with its opinion of 11 July 1950 for the General Assembly to authorize a procedure for the grant of oral hearings by the Committee on South-West Africa to petitioners who had already submitted written petitions; provided that the General Assembly was satisfied that such a course was necessary for the maintenance of effective international supervision of the administration of the Mandate Territory”.

For these reasons, the Court held the opinion that by granting oral hearings to the petitioners, the Committee for South-West Africa would

2. Resolution No. 749/A,

be acting in keeping with the advisory opinion of the Court of July 11, 1950.³

At the twelfth regular session of the General Assembly, the Special Committee for South-West Africa submitted a report in which it stated that the South African Union was obliged to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice if necessary. It was controversial at the beginning who would be authorized to start the dispute: all members of the United Nations or only those who had been the members of the League of Nations and now were members of the Organization? In the discussion that followed, however, the view prevailed that it would be politically inopportune to present the case to the Court because of possible negotiations with the South African Union and because it was obvious that the South African Union would in any case refuse to put the verdict into operation, since it would most probably prove unfavourable for the Union.

Referring to the Charter which obliges all the states members to settle their international disputes by means of negotiation and conciliation, and since all the previous attempts had failed, the General Assembly decided⁴ at its 12th regular session to set up a Good Offices Committee for South-West Africa, consisting of representatives of the USA, the United Kingdom and of a third member to be designated by the Chairman of the 12th session of the General Assembly.⁵ The Committee was authorized to start negotiations with the South African Union with a view to an agreement under which this territory would preserve its international status. In the course of the negotiations with the Government of the Union held from 13th to 22nd July 1958 in Pretoria, the Committee suggested an alternative: either to go back to the old mandate system or to place South-West Africa under the trust of the United Nations. The South African Union refused both; new solutions were therefore suggested: (a) the implementation of the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter; (b) control of the International Court of Justice over the administration of South-West Africa; (c) division of the territory into two parts, i.e., the northern part to be placed under trusteeship and the southern part to be designated a strategic trusteeship area or a mandate territory, or annexed by the South African Union, on the condition that the whole population of the territory agreed to the annexation.

Granting one concession after another, the Good Offices Committee expressed the opinion that "some kind of division" of the territory into two parts—one under trusteeship, the other under annexation—would offer a basis for a possible agreement with the South African Union. At its thirteenth regular session the General Assembly did not adopt the suggestion of the Committee, and rejected the annexation as a way to settle the problem. The Yugoslav delegation naturally condemned the attitude of the Committee and its proposal. A resolution⁶ was passed in which the suggestions contained in the report of the Committee were

3. See also U. N. Doc. A/3147 of July 24, 1956.

4. Resolution No. 1143.

5. He designated Brasil for the third member of the Committee.

6. A/C. 4/C. 532.

rejected. At the same time, the Good Offices Committee was invited to carry on the discussion and find the way to an agreement by which the international status would be granted to the whole territory of South-West Africa. At the fourteenth regular session of the General Assembly Resolution No. 1361 of November 17, 1959, was adopted, in which the states members were reminded of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of July 11, 1950, concerning the status of South-West Africa. Their attention was also drawn to the conclusions contained in the report of the Special Committee for South-West Africa regarding the interpretation and implementation of the mandate over South-West Africa, in accordance with Article 7 of the Mandate of December 17, 1920, and with Article 37 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice. In view of the persistent refusal of the South African Union to cooperate with the special committees of the General Assembly, it appeared that the only possible way was to keep this question on the agenda of the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly.

The dispute entered a new stage when a unanimous resolution was brought at the Conference of Independent African States in Addis Ababa in June 1960 to present the question of international obligations of the South African Union concerning South-West Africa to the International Court of Justice at The Hague. Some months later the Governments of Liberia and Ethiopia laid the case before the Court at The Hague, demanding that the Court bring a decision on the interpretation and implementation of the mandate.⁷ As the date shows, the General Assembly was already convened at the time, but the Fourth Committee of the Assembly had not yet begun discussion of this item of the agenda. The discussion in the Fourth Committee opened on November 14, 1960. The South African delegate immediately demanded exclusion of the item from the agenda, since it was being discussed at the International Court of Justice at the time. He maintained that the question was *sub judice* and could not be discussed in this high organ of the United Nations at the same time. However, nobody except the South African delegate himself voted in favour of this proposal. The attitude was taken that it was not the first time that the question was being submitted to the International Court of Justice and that the South African Union had so far refused to acknowledge the competence of any organ of the Organization, be it of judicial or political nature. This procedural proposal of the South African delegate was recognized as an attempt to avoid discussion and hinder the work of the Committee, so it was decided that the item should be further kept on the agenda.⁸ However, after a discussion at the Committee, which lasted over a month,⁹ the General Assembly accepted the statement that the case had been laid before the International Court of Justice and the conclusion that it could not be settled by means of negotiation.¹⁰ Among the latter resolutions, that of December 19, 1961,¹¹ is of particular significance. On the strength of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial

7. *Affaire du Sud-Ouest Africaine (Liberia c. Union sud-africaine)*, Ordonance du 13. janvier 1961 : C. I. J. Recueil 1961, p. 6. — *Ethiopie c. Union sud-africaine*, p. 3.

8. *Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale*, XV Session, meeting 1049, p. 310.

9. From November 14 to December 18, 1960.

10. Resolution No. 1565 (XV).

11. Resolution No. 1702 (XVI).

Countries and Peoples¹² this resolution warns the Security Council that any further development of the situation in South-West Africa may endanger international peace and security. At the same time it was decided that the question should be further kept on the agenda of the General Assembly. On November 13, 1963, the General Assembly drew once again the attention of the Security Council to the critical situation in South-West Africa.¹³

On December 21, 1962, the International Court of Justice delivered the judgment with a majority of eight votes. Seven judges voted against. The judgment ran: "The Court concludes that Article 7 of the Mandate is a treaty or convention still in force within the meaning of Article 37 of the Statute of the Court and that the dispute is one which is envisaged in the said Article 7 and cannot be settled by negotiation. Consequently the Court is competent to hear the dispute on merits".¹⁴ In this way the Court merely stated its jurisdiction, without examining the meritum of the case.

II. *Fundamental Legal Nature of the Dispute.* —1.—*Concept and legal nature of the Mandate of the League of Nations.*—The mandate system which had been practised by the League of Nations was not a completely new institution in international law. Even before World War I great powers maintained the practice of taking some territory away from one country and giving it to another. We need only mention the example of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the Berlin Congress in 1878. After World War I, however, the Allies decided that the territories which were no longer under the sovereign rule of the countries which had hitherto ruled them, and the colonies whose peoples were not yet capable of maintaining their own administration, should be placed under the administration of other states, with the direct control of the League of Nations. In this way, as has already been pointed out, the mandate system was divided "according to the degree of development, available means, experience, geographic position and possibilities for responsibility" into three groups, giving as the result a new type of mandate, i.e., the "international mandate".

How was the idea of creating the international mandates hit upon? Professor Novakovic gives the following explanation: "After the great world war, when peace was concluded in 1919, it was necessary to settle the fate of German colonies and certain regions which had been taken away from Turkey. Everybody agreed that these colonies and regions should be seized from Germany and Turkey, but the suggestions as to their future fate varied. While some held the opinion that these colonies and regions ought to be turned over to some of the allied states, others were in favour of internationalization of these territories. In Europe, pacifist associations and members of socialist parties (representatives of the Labour Party of England in particular) fought for internationalization, whereas others demanded annexation by some of the allied states. As a compromise bet-

12. Resolution No. 1514 (XV).

13. Resolution No. 1899 (XVIII).

14. *Affaire du Sud-Ouest Africain*. Exceptions preliminaries. Arrêt du 21 décembre 1962, p. 347. See dr Olga Sukovic, *Activity of the International Court of Justice in the period 1962—1963* and *Almanac of Institute for International Politics and Economy* 1963.

ween these two contrary opinions, the somewhat vague suggestion made by President Wilson himself that the territories in question should be placed under the management of allied states, on certain conditions, and under the control of the League of Nations, was adopted. Thus were the international mandates within the League of Nations set up..."¹⁵

In the doctrine of international law between the two World Wars, the question of the legal nature of mandates arose, i.e. the question of sovereignty in the case of a mandate.

H. Rolin, who was at the time the permanent delegate of Belgium in the League of Nations and therefore also politically interested in these questions, took the legal attitude that the mandatory state itself was sovereign in the case of the mandates of the League of Nations. According to Rolin, the mandatory state is sovereign since it exercises legislative, administrative and juridical authority. "The obligations imposed upon the mandatory state—as well as the control exercised by the League of Nations according to Rolin—are merely duties which do not annul its sovereignty, just as the duties attached to an immovable property do not annul the right of ownership over that property".¹⁶ However, Rolin forgot, probably on purpose, the essential characteristic of the mandate, i.e. that a mandate is primarily an obligatory contract determining the rights and duties of the parties concerned, in addition to the fact that each mandate holder is obliged to act within the limits of his mandate. The fact that the mandatory in this case is a sovereign state cannot alter the basis of the legal, or rather, of the obligatory relationship, in this case of an international obligatory relationship. Novakovic concludes quite rightly: "Rolin's opinion cannot be accepted since it would lead to the conclusion that the territories under mandate are actually annexed to the mandatory state, whereas the mandates have been set up precisely in order to avoid the annexation of former German colonies by some of the allied states. Moreover, this opinion would also create an impossible paradox, i.e. that of a state administering its own regions, over which it is sovereign, under somebody else's control and on somebody else's behalf".¹⁷

Rolin's thesis was met by pronounced criticism on the part of some well-known internationalists of the time, whether they maintained that the sovereignty over mandates should be exercised by the group of five states—England, France, Italy, Japan and the USA—like Fauchille, or actually by the League of Nations, like Schucking. A good number of internationalists took the rightful attitude that even in the case of a mandate sovereignty is "left to the native population itself".¹⁸

We should not insist upon the interpretation of the doctrine of international law of the time had the persistent claim of the South African Union to a sovereign right over South-West Africa not acquired, even though timidly, some supporters among the delegates in the Fourth Committee (particularly among the colonial and former colonial powers), and

15. Dr Mileta Novakovic, *Osnovi međunarodnoga javnoga prava*, vol. I, Beograd 1936, p. 252.

16. Quotation after Novakovic's interpretation, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

17. Novakovic, *op. cit.*, p. 256 and the following.

18. Ibid.

even among the members of the Committee, who submitted a proposal of a possible annexation of a part of this mandate territory.

In any case, this irreconcilable attitude of the South African Union refers merely to the annexation of either the whole of South-West Africa, or of a half of its territory and we believe therefore that we have been fully justified in pointing out the attempt and failure of a theoretical justification of an absolutely unacceptable legal attitude. It should also be added that in 1950 the International Court of Justice could not but deny the right of the South African Union to annex South-West Africa.

Assuming that the legal nature of the mandate has been made completely clear, particularly after the decision of the International Court of Justice passed on December 21, 1962, i.e. that the mandatory state can in no way take sovereign and partial decisions regarding the relevant territory—since, as it has been explained, the mandate is by its legal nature an obligatory relationship—we shall pass on to the next question: what are the obligations of the South African Union incurred by the mandate?

2.—*Obligations of the South African Union incurred by the mandate.*—According to the provisions of Article 22, Paragraph 2, of the League of Nations Covenant, the mandatory state is bound to submit annual reports to the Council of the League of Nations. On the strength of the mandate this duty was turned into an obligation, with the added clause that the report should contain the measures undertaken with regard to the acquired, but limited, rights of the mandatory, set down in Articles 2, 3, 4 and 5 of the mandate. Thus, for instance, when introducing legislative measures, the holder of the mandate must take into account the local conditions. He must also bear in mind the moral and material benefit and the social progress of the population of the territory; military training of the natives is forbidden; also forbidden are all military and naval bases, as well as all kinds of fortification.

By Article 7 of the mandate, the mandatory state is obliged to lay each dispute between her and a member of the League of Nations concerning the interpretation and implementation of the provisions of the mandate before the Permanent Court of International Justice, the present International Court of Justice.

Thus the international obligations of the South African Union arising from the Covenant of the League of Nations from the Mandate of 1920, are completely clear and unambiguous. Nevertheless, the South African Union has been denying these obligations in full, keeping at the same time the people of this territory in a state of utter misery and backwardness, so that there is not an indication even of "moral and material benefit" or of "social progress of the population."

In 1950, answering the first question, the International Court of Justice stated the existence of an international obligation of the South African Union with regard to the territory of South-West Africa. At the 35th session of the Fourth Committee on November 6, 1953, the delegate of the Union openly declared that "the government of the Union would not accept any decision or opinion of the Court." The South African Union has maintained this attitude towards the Court ever since.

But on what points did the Court hesitate and thus paralyze the action of the General Assembly? The Court held the opinion that the only obligations of the South African Union were those imposed by the Covenant and the Mandate and that these obligations were much more limited than the demands arising from the trusteeship system of the United Nations, although it did not deny that the trusteeship system had succeeded the mandates of the League of Nations as far as the competence to control is concerned.

Actually, the Court could not in principle deny the legal effect of the Charter, but indirectly it did not agree to its application in this particular case. Unfortunately, at its fifth regular session, the General Assembly accepted this, in a negative sense, Solomonic decision of the Court.

In this legal situation we cannot but wonder: do the stipulations of the Charter offer certain rights to the members of the United Nations, or, rather, do these stipulations impose any obligations upon them in this concrete case?

3.—*Rights and duties of the UNO relating to South-West Africa.*—The competence of the United Nations, i.e., of the General Assembly, to discuss this question on the strength of Article 10 of the Charter, was not disputed by any member (except by the South African Union), or by the International Court of Justice. The Court did not confer upon the Organisation the right to settle the dispute without the consent of the South African Union. The question arises: do the stipulations of the Charter prevent the Organisation from action, i.e. does it mean that it really is not authorized to act against the wish and attitude of the South African Union? Thus formulated this question should be presented to the Court for advisory opinion, and the Court could certainly not deny this right of the UNO, although it is possible that the Court could, by treating again the matter formally, give its opinion with certain limitations. That question will be again considered in the last section of this work.

We are of the opinion that the Charter does not prevent its members from taking all legal steps available to force the South African Union to act in accordance with their demand. To this demand we shall later return once more. Here we can only state that the question of South-West Africa is under "international jurisdiction", i.e. under the jurisdiction of the United Nations, and not within the domain of the "domestic competence" of the South African Union. Article 2, Para 7, of the Charter can by no means be applied to this particular case. The opinion of the Court from 1950 holds support to such an attitude. On the other hand, the competence of the Organization to discuss and settle this dispute is based on Article 10, and on the whole of Chapter XII of the Charter.

What demand should be made by the United Nations? This question, in fact, comprises the methods and means for a possible solution of this international problem. This, actually, is the subject of our further consideration.

III.—*Methods and means for the solution of the dispute.*—Before assuming an attitude towards the question of the demand, it is necessary

to consider the methods and means for the settlement of the problem of South-West Africa which have so far been suggested.

- (a) Return to the mandate system; this was suggested by the Good Offices Committee in 1958. According to this suggestion, a mandate agreement would be signed with the government of the Union, while the Trusteeship Council would exercise a controlling function. If this were the case, this body would have to be re-organized in order to admit the South African Union. This suggestion would to some extent comply with the conception of the Court (advisory opinion from 1950), but as this conception is rather confused, the suggestion is not only impracticable, but also contrary to the Charter, which allows only for the system of trusts, and not for that of mandates. However, this suggestion was also rejected by the South African Union.
- (b) Placing of South-West Africa under the trust of the United Nations; this suggestion is acceptable for the United Nations, but was categorically rejected by the South African Union.
- (c) Application of Chapter XI of the Charter; according to this suggestion South-West Africa would be qualified as a non-self-governing territory and treated as such both by the South African Union and by the United Nations.

This suggestion is unacceptable for the simple reason that the influence of the United Nations would in this case be rendered insignificant. In any case, this would not improve the situation, since the South African Union could at any time bring matters back to a *status quo* by refusing to send reports. Thus it would be a step backward as compared to the mandate status of South-West Africa. This suggestion, too, was rejected by the Union.

- (d) Control of the International Court of Justice over the administration of South-West Africa; this possibility was rejected by the General Assembly by Resolution No. 749 (VIII) A. in 1953.
- (e) Division of South-West Africa into two parts and annexation of one of these parts by the Union—an alternative absolutely unacceptable from the point of view of the United Nations and the only one which the Union agreed to take into consideration. To accept this alternative, or even suggestions of this kind, would mean defeat of the United Nations in this particular case.

This practically means that all the methods which have so far been suggested have failed.

And what about the means that have been proposed?

- (a) One of them was the setting up of the Good Offices Committee and of special committees. No results whatsoever have been obtained.
- (b) Advisory opinions have been asked from the International Court of Justice.

There is no reason why these opinions should not be asked for again ; we believe, however, that the legal situation is clear and that no advisory opinion can contribute towards the solution of the dispute, except that such a procedure would make for a comparatively successful keeping of the dispute on the agenda. But that is not the purpose of the United Nations.

- (c) Placing of the dispute before the International Court of Justice for obligatory jurisdiction.

From a legal point of view it would be possible to use this means if the refusal of the South African Union to accept the decisions and advisory opinions of the Court is disregarded.

And what judgment of the Court could be expected ? A majority of votes would probably contribute towards making it comply with the demands made so far by the General Assembly. This conclusion can also be drawn from a more rigorous attitude taken by the Court when it gave its second advisory opinion in 1956, and particularly after the decision of 1962. However, we believe there would be some dissenting opinions, be it even with regard to legal questions of minor importance, as experience has shown. It is a great question whether the Court would pass a unanimous judgment which would at the same time condemn the attitude of the South African Union and fully authorize the United Nations to undertake forcible action, and only such a verdict would mean that full support is offered to the Organization in this matter.

As we take it that the legal aspect of the question is clear to a majority of the members of the United Nations, we are not certain that this means would prove efficient, since, after all, the difficulties do not arise from the legal, but from the political, aspect of the problem.

Let us assume that the International Court of Justice may pass an extremely favourable verdict. The South African Union will refuse to put it into operation. In such situation the United Nations would either have to take forcible measures in order to protect the authority of the Court and of the Organization, which has so far not even been attempted, or, which is more probable, they would have to give in, as it were, if the forces which are of crucial importance for the international security and peace were stirred.

IV.—*Conclusion.*—What remains to be done in order to settle the problem of South-West Africa?

We are of the opinion that so far efforts have been made only for palliative solutions and means which would satisfy both sides. This policy has proved a failure.

The South African Union has several times officially declared that its international mission in South-West Africa has been completed, and that it would therefore submit no more reports on this territory. After all, 40 years have passed since the territory was placed under the administration of the Union. Why not demand independence for the territory, since it has been the final aim of both the mandate and trusteeship systems? Why resort to palliative means, and not to those provided by the Charter for a forcible settlement of this dispute, since in the course of the last fifteen years all other possible means have been exhausted? Independence would,

in our opinion, be the only rightful claim based on the international law in general and on the Charter of the United Nations. Bearing in mind that all other means have actually been exhausted, as well as the existence and power of a whole number of new countries in Africa, the time has come to raise this question in the General Assembly. New African States, members of the United Nations, will lend it political force and other friendly countries their support.

At the fifteenth regular session of the General Assembly, the delegate of Ireland, Mr. Kennedy, in discussing various possibilities for the settlement of this problem, said in the Fourth Committee that it would be impossible to ask independence for a country before its people is prepared to enjoy independence. According to him, a people which has been "prepared for slavery" would not be capable of governing an independent state.¹⁹

Kennedy's comment is not accurate. Moreover, it contains a good deal of cynicism. No colonial power ever prepared the people under its rule for independence, although such claims have been made before or immediately after declaration of independence. Colonial people had, as a rule with no exceptions, to fight for their independence, and it was sometimes granted when dependence became untenable. The African peoples are a good example, and argument against Kennedy's belief, of the "unprepared for independence" taking their countries along the road of independence and of their skill in the management of state affairs. Finally, the petitioners who appeared before the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly undoubtedly proved political maturity of the leaders of this part of Africa.

Members of the British Commonwealth, particularly in the Fourth Committee, although condemning the attitude of the South African Union, have defended the concept of trusteeship as the most adequate solution of the problem. Although trusteeship would definitely mean a step forward in this matter, it would nevertheless be a palliative solution of this difficult international problem of long standing. According to Article 79 of the Charter, trusteeship includes "Mandatory power" in the case of territories held under mandate by a member of the United Nations. Thus trusteeship would not mean complete liberation of the territory from the South African Union, whose colonial policy in the past is ample proof that its possible future treatment of the people in the territory would be extremely unfavourable, although perhaps limited by the new trusteeship regime. It must be borne in mind that the South African Union could accept or refuse the trusteeship, whereas it would be forced to accept independence, since it has no right or basis for keeping the territory in further dependence.

There are a number of reasons for legal—and justified—action by the United Nations. Mass killings, various kinds of violence, permanent and general terror in different forms of genocide, make for the *explosive situation* which is endangering peace in this part of the world. The people of this territory have set up resistance and are demanding independence. It is the duty of the Organization of the United Nations to take action and help these people to acquire independence, which is the only way for the solution of this international dispute—Reproduced from *Jugoslovenska Revija Za Medunarodno*.

19. *Documents officiels de l'Assemblée générale*, XV session, meeting 1061, pp. 369—370.

Teacher Education in India

by P. K. ROY

ALTHOUGH we constantly hear of the shortage of teachers in India, the fact remains that many trained teachers at the secondary level take about six months to secure a job. In some parts of the country the placement of the trainees is not difficult but in several other parts, where there has been a sudden increase in the number of training colleges, students are not very optimistic about their future. It is however true that there has been of late a great increase in the number of people who want to become teachers, especially in secondary schools. The present article will be limited to a discussion of training of teachers for secondary schools.

Secondary training colleges are not fortunate in receiving the brighter section of graduates. Experience shows that most of the graduates who join training courses are poor academically. Very little has been done to correct the impression that a teacher's scholarly knowledge is unimportant in comparison with the training in methods and psychology. The Secondary Education Commission however urges training colleges to admit those "who hold the highest promise of becoming successful teachers". In this context we should remember that three things are necessary for success in teaching: the understanding of what one teaches, how one teaches and whom one teaches. Although many more students now come for training courses all colleges are not in a position to hold admission tests. There may be several colleges which can afford to reject 7 out of 8 students. There are other colleges which have to fill their places with whatever applicants they receive. Most of the students come from lower income groups. Very few of them have honours of higher degrees.

Why do students choose teaching as a career? Many of them say they are attracted to the profession because there is more leisure in it and they can pursue their favourite studies. In fact, many teachers work for higher degrees as non-collegiate students. Some of them, especially women candidates, say they are fond of children. There are many other reasons, among them social service, advice by family members, fondness for the profession, etc., that are mentioned by the students.

Training colleges have a great responsibility in providing the right kind of experience for pupil teachers. A graduate, by the time he arrives at a training college, has formed certain attitudes. It is possible that he is indifferent or only mildly interested in the job; it is the business of the training college to help him become keen and enthusiastic. If the pupil teacher is re-educated in the sense that his attitude changes for the better he will become more capable professionally. Pupil teachers at the

beginning of a session are generally criticised for many deficiencies ; they speak in a slovenly fashion, they are not methodical, their handwriting is quite bad, they cannot control their voices and they are disinclined to read books outside the required course. In general they have a limited range of information and are quite uncritical of themselves and their work. Some of the faults are difficult to correct but the success of a training college depends on the degree of improvement effected in this direction.

Most teachers in training colleges have some experience of school teaching. Many of them have foreign qualifications and a few hold doctorate degrees either from Indian or from foreign universities. Teachers of music, art, handicrafts and physical education are specialists in their subjects. Lecturers in education and teachers of academic subjects usually have Master's degrees. Many of them possess the M.Ed. degree in addition to an M.A. or M.Sc.

The tutorial system is not very common although the better type of colleges emphasize tutorial work. A tutorial group normally consists of ten students. The entire student body is divided into as many groups as there are staff members. The tutor does not meet all his students at the same time. He may meet 2 or 3 students for one hour every week. The tutorial system is very helpful in the re-educational process referred to above.

Demonstration lessons are arranged for the benefit of pupil teachers. They are given by staff members. They are useful only when they are held in the respective schools. The more usual practice is to hold them in training colleges. This is artificial. The pupils in the class do not seem to feel at home in a changed environment and therefore their responses are not spontaneous. Secondly, they do not find any use in attending a class where a lesson is presented almost torn out of its context. There is no continuity in their learning experience. The staff members who give demonstration lessons do not feel happy because for them too it is a special occasion. Except on the day when the lesson is arranged training college lecturers do not have any first-hand experience of classroom teaching in schools.

Staffs of training colleges are not very stable. A few improve their qualifications and procure better jobs. Some of them go abroad for further education and do not return to their colleges. In a college where the staff consists of about 15 to 20 members one can expect on an average a change of 2 or 3 members every year.

The training of teachers for secondary schools lasts for one academic year. Most of the colleges start work in July and continue up to April of the following year. Although the syllabus is not uniform throughout, the subject matter treated is more or less the same. The number of compulsory subjects ranges from three to six. Sometimes one subject is broken up into two and shown as two subjects. Thus several colleges have a whole paper for general methods and a special paper for the method of teaching specific subjects. In one course we find a subject like Trend in Education combined with School Organisation. Even a subject like Educational Psychology is not outside the pale of this confusion. There are colleges which include Physical Health or Educational Statistics

or Evaluation in the psychology paper. The 1957 conference of the Training Colleges (Bangalore) considered the question of having as far as possible a uniform syllabus. This programme is now being adopted by various authorities. The courses of study according to this programme would include four theory papers: Principles of Education and School Organisation, Educational Psychology and Health Education, Principles and Methods of Teaching and Current Problems in Indian Education. There is one optional paper for which each student should select one subject from a number of additional subjects. Following are some examples of these subjects: Basic Education, School Library Organisation, Early Childhood Education, Social Education and Extra-curricular Activities.

The criticism that the teacher education programme is much too theoretical is no longer true. There may be a few training colleges in the country where practical work consists mainly of teaching practice. But a very large number of institutions now offer an elaborate programme of practical work which includes practical school assignments, preparation of visual aids, craft projects, psychology practicals and physical education. There is however one question that has to be considered in this connection. Should craft be compulsory for all? The answer to this will depend on what we want to achieve through this training. In the new scheme of secondary education craft is a compulsory activity. But a teacher who gets very little training in craft work during the brief period of one year may not be of such use to the school for this work. We need people who have learnt craft over a number of years. This is also the experience of Basic Training Colleges. Although most of these institutions have included craft in their programme it has been felt that basic schools will need separate craft teachers. We cannot therefore insist that craft should be a compulsory activity for a pupil teacher preparing to teach in a higher secondary school.

Many colleges arrange regular lectures by outside speakers, dramas and music recitals. Many arrange educational excursions which include visits to museums, art galleries and places of historical interest and natural beauty. A few colleges organise inter-school drama or speech competitions in which school-children can participate. There are authorities who organise very few activities and there are others who attempt too much.

The question arises: are the extra-curricular activities serving the purpose for which they have been introduced? In carrying out these activities two conditions have to be met. The activities should be realistic and the pupil teachers should be able to duplicate them in the school situation. If a pupil teacher is taking part in dramatic activities he should be able to organise such activities in the school. The other condition to be met is that these activities should not come in the way of academic work. If the objectives are not clearly formulated by the organisers of a programme the extra-curricular activities may be more of a hindrance than of help to the pupil teachers.

If we want to improve our teacher education programme we will need to have closer contact with the university and the school. Uptil now the training centre has been isolated from the university as a whole. If training colleges can get teachers from other departments of the university associated with their programme it will be beneficial to both the university

and the training colleges. This can be done in a number of ways. The extra-mural lectures arranged by a teachers' college can accommodate a number of specialists from different fields. Thus teachers in the departments of anthropology, history, sociology, economics and English literature can all come to help our pupil teachers and inspire them in their work. These people can also be involved in the regular teaching programme. Thus a Philosophy Department can help in developing a suitable course in the Principles of Education. A teacher of statistics can help in running a course in statistics and so on. This kind of association with the university departments will raise the academic standard of our teacher education programmes. This has been accepted as a principle in a number of western countries and in England training colleges have close association with the universities there.

The training colleges have, of course, some contact with the school. This contact, to my mind, should be further strengthened. Different training colleges should develop different ways of doing it. It may be a good idea to organise teacher education programmes in collaboration with a few selected schools in certain areas as an experimental measure. If we accept the view that class-room teaching is mainly a skill which has to be sustained by scholarship, we might try to train the teachers in their jobs. Thus in an area where they are, say, 100 schools we may select about 200 good schools where we have headmasters with progressive ideas. We may give to each of these schools about four or five apprentice teachers who will be employees of the local authority. These apprentice teachers will register for a two-year course leading to the usual B.T. or the B.Ed. degree. The apprentice teachers will be regular teachers teaching in the school for part of the day, say, for about three hours. The headmasters will be their supervisors. They will prepare a programme of activity in such a way that the teachers get all-round experience of a normal teaching job. During the remaining part of the day the teachers will go to a training centre. Here they will attend a few lectures but will mostly have seminars and discussion groups on various topics in different subject areas. There should be close co-operation between the training centre and the school. The programme should be properly co-ordinated. The training centre should be able to provide ample reading material for all the teachers who may like to borrow books frequently for home reading. If such a programme is developed and spread over about two years there will be several advantages :

- (a) The usual criticism that the training programme is divorced from school experience will be answered ;
- (b) The training, spread over two years, will be more comprehensive and could include all the important elements that are considered necessary for a good programme ;
- (c) The teachers, being in the regular employ of the educational authorities, will not be worried about securing jobs ;
- (d) A proper selection ensuring that suitable candidates are admitted to the course will be possible ;
- (e) The headmasters, being regularly associated with the training programme, would like to implement in their schools some of the progressive ideas learnt. This will influence the activities organised in the school ;

- (f) The education authorities will have greater faith in the training programme because the entire training will be based on school work.

Another activity that can involve the teachers in an intimate way is the introduction of projects in different schools. Training colleges may plan small investigations to be undertaken by class-room teachers. If some staff members are available to supervise the investigations, the results will be trust-worthy and the teachers will have a good experience in the collection of data and in its interpretation. In a number of nation-wide surveys in Scotland school teachers have been extremely useful. The Scottish Council for Research in Education, in co-operation with the universities and training colleges, has been able to make use of class-room teachers in the collection of data. The Scottish mental survey relied heavily on the co-operation of teachers. Various researches on reading selection, arithmetic, etc., were made possible in Scotland by the help the Council received from practising teachers.

This naturally leads on to the problem of the amount of research possible in a training college. There are some training colleges which have considerable research experience. It is, however, noticed that most of these research efforts are in the direction of mental testing. There are, however, many other areas where a training college can contribute more effectively. Some of these areas are class-room teaching, learning in specific areas, inter-personal relationship, school organisation, adolescent behaviour and so on. There are two main categories of research. One is fundamental research, which tries to understand the fundamental nature of a problem and seeks its solution. Thus when Spearman tried to understand the nature of human abilities he was doing fundamental research or when Kurt Lewin wants to understand group dynamics he underlines fundamental research. This type of research will include all kinds of system-building and attempts at deep understanding of the various relationships in society. The other kind of research has been referred to above in connection with small-scale investigation and can be carried on in the class-room with the help of progressive teachers. This kind of research has been called Action Research and is being encouraged by several Extension Services Departments in the country. There is, however, a third category of research which, to my mind, does not deserve the name of research. This includes investigations done under high pressure, disregarding all requirements of scientific research. Here it is the result and not the understanding of a problem that is important. The investigator is in a desperate hurry to come to a conclusion. Such research should be discouraged in our training colleges.

Training colleges during the last few years have done good work in the matter of revising their courses and programme of work generally in a number of areas. I have noticed that some of the authorities have accepted the idea of internal assessment to a considerable degree. In some cases practical work has been given adequate weightage and in some areas practical work as a whole is internally assessed. There is however one area where emphasis needs to be given now. There has been considerable emphasis on extra-curricular activities. Such activities are important for developing various kinds of attitudes and skills among the pupil teachers, but the fact remains that more often than not these are organised with a view to making an impression on outsiders without under-

standing the purpose for which they should be organised. It is, therefore, necessary to take stock of the situation from time to time and see if the activities we are having are really serving the purpose. The need of the moment is to lay adequate emphasis on scholarship. Very often the lack of emphasis on scholarship makes our standards lower and gives to pupil teachers the impression that a training college is not a place of learning. The pupil teachers confine themselves to their text-books because their lecturers tend to do the same. Therefore instead of describing this system of ours as bookish, we should describe it as text-bookish. A teacher should not only be conversant with methods but should also develop a love of reading. It is only by being interested in wide reading that he can inspire his pupils to do the same. A teacher should continue learning if he wants to pass the lamp of learning to his pupils. As Tagore has said :

“A teacher can never truly teach unless he is still learning himself. A lamp can never light another lamp unless it continues to burn its own flame. The teacher who has come to the end of his subject, who has no living traffic with his knowledge, but merely repeats his lesson to his students can only load their minds. He cannot quicken them. Truth not only must inform but also must inspire”.

Quarterly Chronicle

India and Africa

That there are great possibilities of Indian businessmen collaborating either with governments or with private enterprise in joint industrial ventures in Africa is the impression formed by the Indian industrialists' delegation which recently visited African countries. The delegation feels that the general investment climate in these countries is favourable and that the facilities offered are reasonable. Among the industries which India can establish in co-operation with African industrialists or governments are cotton textiles, sugar, cement, jute, light engineering products and tanneries. The leader of the delegation, Mr A.M.M. Murugappa Chettiar, said that this task presented India with "an immense opportunity and a challenge."

The delegation has suggested the formation of an appropriate agency to co-ordinate the various programmes of collaboration and cooperation with African countries. It has also suggested incentives from the Government to enable industrialists to export machinery to Africa.

Mr Chettiar said Africans were not particular about Indians having majority or minority participation in joint ventures. African countries had assured the delegation that they would not nationalize the joint ventures. But if for any reason the ventures were nationalized the question of compensation would be referred to arbitration.

The delegation, during its 25-day tour, visited Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, Zambia, the Sudan, Tanganyika and Uganda. In its discussions it made it clear to African Governments that India would not be able to provide financial participation to any significant extent in joint ventures. The best form in which India could collaborate was to offer plant and machinery on competitive terms and perhaps on a long-term credit basis. The delegation stressed the need for expansion of facilities for technical training of African personnel in factories in India.

In Uganda, which is free from racial tension and where there is no sense of uneasiness in the Asian community, the climate is especially favourable for such collaboration between the two countries. According to Dr V.K.R.V. Rao, member of the Planning Commission, who visited Uganda in November at the invitation of that country, Indian technical and educational assistance will be of great help to the economy of Uganda. He has suggested that seats be reserved in Indian technical institutions for students from developing countries.

Dr Rao said in New Delhi that India could also help in setting up technical institutions in these countries. Some people in Uganda were proposing to set up a Jawaharlal Nehru Technical Institute there. India

could also help in the economic field. There was scope for Indian private capital to set up textiles, chemical and other industries there. The Germans, Russians and Chinese had shown much interest in helping Uganda, he said.

The Indian Government has ratified an agreement reached last month at Kampala between an Indian delegation and the Uganda Government for the development of the sugar industry in that country. The machinery and plant will be supplied by India to the extent possible and only a small portion of equipment is to be imported from other countries. Ninety per cent of the equity capital to be issued will be shared by the Governments of India and Uganda equally. The balance of ten per cent will be subscribed by private investors in Uganda.

In Kenya, an Indian firm—Mahindra and Mahindra—is to invest in a joint venture to assemble and later manufacture four-wheel-drive jeeps. This was revealed by Dr Gikonyo Kiano, Commerce and Industry Minister, when he opened the Indian Government pavilion at the Royal Show of the Royal Agricultural Society of Kenya. This was the first time that India participated in the show.

In Zambia, an enamel plant will be set up by the Bengal Enamel Works Limited, Calcutta.

In Ghana India will help in putting up a cotton textile mill at the site of the Volta River Project. The project envisages the establishment of a composite cotton textile mill consisting of about 12,500 spindles and 300 looms. The details of the collaboration arrangement are being worked out.

Air India has agreed to train at its engineering base in India employees of East African Airways Corporation. The training will last four years. It will cover theoretical instruction in basic aeronautical engineering and practical training on Boeing aircraft at Santa Cruz.

Indians in Africa

The future of Indians in Africa was the subject matter of a number of questions tabled in the Indian Parliament recently. The Foreign Minister, Mr Swaran Singh, told the House that Indians in most African countries were doing reasonably well and that the Indian missions there were doing their best to safeguard the interests of people of Indian origin. Generally, in Africa the position was "not quite that anxious as the Hon'ble member (Mr P.R. Patel) is hinting."

Mr Dinesh Singh, Deputy Minister of External Affairs, said in Parliament that India "appreciated" the programme of Africanisation of services in some countries and therefore could not interfere in this matter. Africans had not had opportunities of employment in the past and it was quite natural that the majority community in African countries should have these opportunities now. He admitted that there were some apprehensions on the part of Indian settlers in these countries, "as anywhere during transition but we hope that most of the people of Indian origin will become nationals of countries they are living in."

According to Mr Rajeshwar Dayal, Special Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry, who represented India at the celebrations marking

Kenya's becoming a republic, African leaders of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania want Indians to remain in East Africa and are desirous of greater economic and technical cooperation with India.

Mr Dayal, who also visited Uganda and Tanzania, said in Nairobi that the first impact of independence anywhere in the world was a degree of uncertainty. "But I think that that period has now ended in East Africa." Africans had understandable aspirations, but they could be reconciled with the interests of Indians in African countries. There were new opportunities in Africa and Indians, who were enterprising, could make their contribution to its economic development.

The position of Indians in Kenya was discussed by India's late Minister for Industry and Supply, Mr H. C. Dasappa, who spent two days in Nairobi in October on his way to the Zambia independence celebrations, with Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta and Justice Minister Tom Mboya. He also held discussions with leaders of the Indian community, some of whom explained to him why most Indians had failed to take up Kenya citizenship. Mr Kenyatta is understood to have expressed the hope that the Indians, instead of standing aloof, would identify themselves with Africans.

Visitors from Africa

Mr Kounzika, Deputy Prime Minister of the Angolan Government in exile, visited India in November to explore what help India could give to the people of Angola. In an interview in New Delhi (The Times of India, Delhi, Nov. 27) Mr Kounzika said India could help the Angolan people by sending teachers to Leopoldville, where the exile Government of Angola is based, to teach Angolan children. There were over 5,00,000 Angolans in Leopoldville. He said he was quite hopeful that some project for Indo-Angolan cooperation in the educational field would materialise soon. He had discussions with the Union Minister for Education, Mr M.C. Chagla.

Dr K.O. Dike, Vice-Chancellor of Ibadan University in Nigeria, paid a two-day visit to India on the invitation of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. Speaking on the role of "African Studies in Universities" at the India International Centre, Dr Dike said that without such studies all talk of Afro-Asian solidarity would end up in nothing.

Dr Dike said that for nearly a century African history and culture had been misrepresented to the outside world by numerous European scholars, who had a fixed notion that the black man belonged to an inferior race, incapable of achieving anything worthwhile in the field of arts or letters.

Rhodesian Deadlock

In recent months there has been a hardening of attitudes among both Europeans and Africans on the deadlocked issue of Rhodesia's independence. Although Mr Ian Smith, Rhodesian Premier, has given up hopes of obtaining independence in the near future, he has not abandoned them altogether.

After the November 5 referendum vote in favour of independence he declared that if Britain thought "they were going to send out some poor

member of the Royal family to pull down the Union Jack in Rhodesia then it would be over our dead bodies". He said there was still a possibility of the country declaring unilateral independence under certain circumstances, for instance, if there was a breach of the convention (of non-interference), if Britain interfered with the constitution and if it went back on its promises by refusing to support the Rhodesian case at the United Nations. The Zimbabwe African Union, through its Accra representative, on Nov. 15 appealed to foreign governments to let volunteers join its struggle if the Rhodesian Government declared unilateral independence and recognise a ZAPU Government in exile.

In the referendum, the mainly white electorate voted for independence under the present constitution. The result showed a high percentage of abstentions in constituencies with a large proportion of the country's 12,729 registered African electors. Among the Europeans who voted "no" was Lord Malvern, former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The referendum was preceded by a farce of "consultation" with tribal chiefs and headmen. Britain had refused to nominate observers to the chiefs' meeting and informed Mr. Smith that his method of consulting African opinion was not acceptable to it.

The unequivocal stand taken by the British Government against a unilateral declaration of independence by Southern Rhodesia had upset Mr Smith's plans in this regard. He said the results of the referendum would not be taken as a mandate for such a declaration.

In a statement, India welcomed the British stand that a unilateral declaration of independence by the minority Government of Southern Rhodesia would be an open act of defiance and rebellion. The Government of India's declaration was in keeping with its policy throughout and its stand at the recent conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers. It said the settler Government had no authority or moral right to act in flagrant disregard of the wishes of the people and any semblance of 'constitutionality' sought to be given by the process of a so-called referendum and 'consultation' of African opinion through African chiefs, who in reality were paid Government servants, would be completely unacceptable.

The statement recalled India's stand that the only basis for Southern Rhodesia's independence should be the establishment of a duly constituted democratic government chosen on the principle of "one man one vote". The statement made it clear that India would not recognise any unconstitutional declaration of independence by the present minority government in Salisbury.

Mr Joshua Nkomo, the Rhodesian nationalist leader, and 16 other members of the African nationalist movement, who were released from preventive detention on Nov. 16, were sent back into a restricted area at Gonukudzingwa, near the Rhodesian-Mozambique border. In taking this action, the Government ignored the Rhodesian High Court's findings that the detention of the leaders was illegal. The court had set aside the detention orders. The three appeal judges declared that the Preventive Detention (Temporary Provisions) Amendment Act was illegal because it was inconsistent with Section 58 of the Constitution's Declaration of Human Rights. The Act was originally passed under the Constitution that was superseded by the Whitehead-Sandys Constitution of 1961.

Trouble in Congo

The situation in the Congo, which had been in the grip of a virtual civil war for the past few months, took a grave turn in November. The situation worsened because the Stanleyville authorities had treated as hostages about 1,000 men, women and children of various nationalities. India had appealed to Mr Jomo Kenyatta, Prime Minister of Kenya, in his capacity as Chairman of the Congo Conciliation Commission of the Organization of African Unity, to ensure the safety of the civilian population, both foreign and Congolese, and to see to it that they received humanitarian treatment. As the situation in the Congo worsened, India had instructed several of its envoys in Africa to approach O.A.U. headquarters for the safety of the hostages. The negotiations were being carried on in Nairobi between the parties concerned when Belgian paratroopers were sent in on November 24.

Concern over the safety of 43 Indians and 415 people of Indian origin stranded in Stanleyville was expressed in the Indian Parliament by several members. Mr Dinesh Singh, Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs, told the Rajya Sabha that these people were neither treated as hostages nor were ill treated. He said India was in complete tune with the African nations regarding the Congo. The Government viewed the landing of foreign troops in Stanleyville with concern and wanted them to be withdrawn from the Congo.

Mr Dinesh Singh told the House that the damaging of an Indian Embassy car or a solitary placard asking Indians to get out of Kenya during the anti-West demonstrations in Nairobi on November 26 did not indicate any general hostility towards this country. On the contrary, he said, India's relations with Kenya were cordial and friendly.

Non-aligned Summit

More than 50 heads of State attended the summit conference of non-aligned nations in Cairo from October 5 to 11. The number of participants was more than doubled between the first and second non-aligned conferences—an eloquent testimony to the growth of non-alignment. The conference provided a broader definition of non-alignment, its content and significance in the context of the changing world situation. It also provided the justification for the continuance of such a policy as long as conflicts and tension continued.

The conference declared that in spite of the improvement in international affairs, sources of tension still existed. The eastern and western blocs were no longer homogeneous and this fact had to be taken into account in judging the situation. A particular cause for concern was the military and other forms of assistance given to enable certain powers to perpetuate by force colonialist situations. Newly liberated and other developing countries faced a great danger in colonialist efforts to exploit their difficulties so as to interfere in their internal affairs and maintain unequal relationships, particularly economic. On co-existence, the conference declared that peaceful co-existence could not fully materialize throughout the world without the abolition of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The conference called on all countries not to produce or acquire nuclear weapons. It suggested that the UN convene a conference to write such an undertaking into a treaty. It also urged that the Moscow treaty on banning nuclear tests be extended to include underground tests. No mention was made in the declaration about the despatch of a mission to China to make it desist from nuclear weapons. India, which had sponsored the idea of such a mission, itself moved an amendment to the draft declaration suggesting that the conference appeal to all nations which did not at present have nuclear weapons to refrain from their production.

India found itself pitched against Indonesia on the issue of settlement of disputes without threat or use of force. The Political Committee of the Conference agreed to recommend that nations should express themselves against threat or use of force to change established national borders but it declined to go along with India in taking the next step and suggest that any situation created by such use of force must not be recognized. Tanganyika argued that she could not endorse the Indian stand because that would inhibit them from taking military action against the oppressive regime in South Africa and Portuguese possessions. The plenary session of the Foreign Ministers adopted India's appeal not to recognize any situation brought about by use of force. They also adopted a declaration that in order to settle problems of frontiers, all States should resort to negotiation, mediation or arbitration or other peaceful means set forth in the UN Charter. The adoption of the declaration was regarded in conference circles as a victory for India in its dispute with China.

India and Indonesia were also divided on the issue of peaceful co-existence among nations. In the Political Committee, Indonesia propounded the theory that the question of co-existence between East and West was already outdated and that the need of the hour was for the non-aligned nations to refuse to co-exist with colonialism. In the final communique, the conference expressed the hope that peaceful co-existence was both necessary and possible. It called for the unconditional, complete and final liquidation of colonialism now. It said the process of liberation was irresistible and irreversible. Colonized people might legitimately resort to arms to secure the full exercise of their right to self-determination.

Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri presented a five-point peace programme at the conference. Urging that non-aligned countries should continue to play a helpful role in promoting agreement on total nuclear disarmament, he said they must take a clear and forthright attitude in calling upon all nations to accept the ban on nuclear tests. He added that India stood committed to the use of atomic energy only for peaceful purposes even though she had the capability of developing nuclear weapons. He urged the peaceful settlement of border disputes and the emancipation of colonies and dependent countries, supported the right of self-determination for dependent territories, called for strict economic sanctions against South Africa and an effective ban on the supply, particularly of arms and oil, to that country and stressed the need for economic cooperation among the non-aligned countries.

Activities of the Council

The following is an account of the activities of the Council during the quarter :

Scholarships for Africans

The Council extended its cooperation to the India-Africa Development Association (I.A.D.A.) in the implementation of its scheme to award scholarships to African technicians for in-plant training in Indian factories. On behalf of the I.A.D.A., an organization set up in the Ministry of Commerce to foster closer economic relations with African countries, the Council will receive the recipients of the scholarships on their arrival in this country and look after their welfare.

The Office Secretary of the Council is a member of the committee established by the I.A.D.A. to implement the scholarship scheme. To begin with, 50 scholarships will be awarded.

The I.A.D.A. has received from Indian industrialists several offers of giving in-plant training to African technicians.

Mr. Simango's Visit

The Council played host to Mr Uria Timoteo Simango, Vice-President of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), which has its headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam. During his stay in Delhi, he met Mr Dinesh Singh, Deputy Foreign Minister and Vice-President of the Council, had lunch with the General Secretaries of the Council at Parliament House on November 20 and visited the Gandhi Museum, the Okhla Industrial Estate, and a community development centre. Later, he paid a short visit to Goa.

The Council arranged to send him a set of books on India.

Lagos Plan for Scientific Research and Training in Africa

The present state of scientific research and the training of scientific and technical personnel in Africa and the measures that should be taken for their further development were considered at the International Conference on the Organization of Research and Training in Africa in Relation to the Study, Conservation and Utilization of Natural Resources held in Lagos from July 28 to August 6, 1964. Representatives of 28 African countries and observers from other member-states of UNESCO and various international organizations attended the conference, which was organised by UNESCO in association with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Given below are the decisions and recommendations of the conference—Editor.

I. National Scientific Policy

The International Conference on the Organization of Research and Training in Africa in Relation to the Study, Conservation and Utilization of Natural Resources,

Composed of delegates duly accredited by the Governments of African States,

Conscious of the importance of natural resources to the national heritage of each country, representing, as they do, riches to which the peoples of Africa have a permanent and inalienable sovereign right,

Considering that development and social progress depend upon the wise exploitation of these resources,

Proclaims its conviction that the extension of scientific and technical research on natural resources constitutes a factor essential to such development;

Recommends, therefore, that the governments should devote continued and very large-scale efforts to the promotion of scientific and technical research;

Recommends that, to this end, campaigns should be systematically organized in each country with a view to drawing the attention of the population to the essential role which science and technology can play in solving the social and economic problems which hinder the efforts the African countries are making to raise the material and spiritual standards of living of their peoples;

Recommends that, in view of the extreme shortage of senior scientific and technical personnel in most of the countries, there should be a general mobilization of all possible means in order to cope with this shortage and that encouragement should be unreservedly given to the teaching and re-

search establishments which constitute the crucible from which the talents necessary for research are poured, and that, for this purpose, the highest priority should be accorded to the teaching of the various scientific disciplines at all levels;

Recommends that a true corps of permanent research workers should be established and that, to this end, measures should be taken by the responsible governmental authorities at the highest level to ensure that those who devote their lives to research should have a place in society in keeping with the high qualifications which this occupation demands;

Affirms the imperative and urgent need for the governments of African countries to create or reinforce national scientific structures to realize these objectives;

Recommends, finally, that plans for the wise exploitation and utilization of natural resources, and in particular renewable resources, should not use up more than the capital which they represent can produce and that, consequently, they should include measures for the conservation of natural resources, fauna and flora.

Imperatives of National Science Policy

1. Realization by the African governments of the need to establish short- and long-term economic development programmes.
2. Recognition by those governments of the need to establish scientific research and industrial research programmes, both short term and long term.
3. Recognition by the governments of their responsibility for the organization of scientific research and for the encouragement of research by creating an atmosphere favourable to it.
4. Recognition by scientists of their responsibilities towards their own countries. Respect for academic freedom and the right to free choice of methods and techniques are vitally important to the activities of research workers who, however, in choosing their subjects of research, must keep in mind the needs of their respective countries.
5. Recognition of the need to establish a proper balance between fundamental and applied research. The African countries are aware of the importance of fundamental research and oriented research knowing that their development is indispensable to progress in applied research and that they constitute the base of the pyramid of research activities.
6. Recognition of the need for scientific collaboration, at both the regional and the continental levels, in order to solve common problems.
7. Recognition of the need to establish at the highest level a body that will be responsible for the elaboration of the national scientific policy and the co-ordination of research activities. The structure of such bodies will vary from country to country according to the prevailing structures and conditions in each.

8. Recognition of the need for studies and research on natural resources and the co-ordination of the activities of the bodies responsible for them.

9. Recognition of the need to train a sufficient number of research personnel as rapidly as possible, and recognition of the essential role of the universities in this regard.

10. Recognition of the need to include in all national budgets a special chapter for scientific and technical research.

2. *Organization and Implementation of Policies of Research on Natural Resources*

It is recommended that :

A. Organization of Research

1. In each African country, national research organizations be set up to co-ordinate the elaboration and implementation of programmes of research on natural resources and that effective links be instituted between national research organizations on the one hand and planning commissions as well as establishments making use of the results of scientific research on the other hand.

2. A scientific research committee responsible for determining the objectives of the research and budgeting arrangements be set up within the national planning bodies.

3. In each national research organization and under its responsibility arrangements be made for making, on a continuing basis, a census and evaluation of the means available for research.

4. Neighbouring countries co-ordinate their research policies in matters of common interest, exchange information on their work, and co-ordinate efforts with a view to the implementation of joint projects and the joint use of research institutions.

5. The attention of the African States be drawn to the project method which involves teams of research workers brought together to resolve specific problems and ensures that the necessary equilibrium is maintained between the various disciplines.

B. Organization of Institutes

6. The African countries, with international assistance, set up at the national or sub-regional levels multi-disciplinary or specialized institutes for scientific and technical research on natural resources, or develop or combine existing institutions for this purpose, by methods to be defined in the light of the national structures of each country.

7. In addition to research institutions as such, the African countries have at their disposal the infrastructural services required for research and, in particular, scientific and technical documentation centres.

8. The number of inter-African documentation centres be increased to three or more.

C. Scientific and Technical Committee on Natural Resources in Africa

9. (a) A Scientific and Technical Committee on Natural Resources in Africa be set up to carry out the following tasks at the continental level:

to promote harmonization of the methods, terminology nomenclatures and the utilization of basic maps for study and research on natural resources in each African State in its national research programmes;

to facilitate comparison between the results obtained in national research programmes by means of co-ordination and by standardization of weights and measures and uniform systems of classification;

to ensure that national research programmes will be compared as a matter of course in disciplines for which such comparisons are essential to the advancement of knowledge;

to arrange continental programmes in the earth sciences, the study of the atmosphere and the life sciences which, by their very nature, call for studies all the regional or continental levels; and

to establish relations with the international scientific community in matters of common concern;

(b) the Organization of African Unity be invited to examine the above recommendation and be requested to provide means of implementation as necessary;

(c) Unesco be invited to give technical support to the Organization of African Unity within the framework of the agreement to be concluded between the two organizations, regarding the establishment and operation of the committee;

(d) the Economic Commission for Africa, the Specialized Agencies, and other competent bodies in the United Nations system be invited to collaborate with the Organization of African Unity and Unesco in this respect.

D. Conservation at the National Level and at the Inter-Africa Level

10. The attention of the African countries be drawn to the resolution on the conservation of natural resources, flora and fauna in the developing countries, adopted by the Unesco General Conference at its twelfth session in December 1962, the 'African Charter' adopted by certain African countries in 1962, and the resolutions of the General Assembly of the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, adopted in Nairobi in 1963.

11. (a) The 1933 convention on the flora and fauna of Africa be revised in order to bring it up to date and to extend the scope of its application;

(b) the Organization of African Unity be invited to entrust the preparation of a preliminary draft to the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, assisted by Unesco and FAO.

12. (a) The African States set up conservation boards at the governmental level and that, within the framework of their development plans, they undertake all necessary measures to ensure the rational, long-term utilization of renewable natural resources, particularly by the creation of national parks and strict reserves;

(b) Unesco be invited to assist in the creation and management of such protected areas, in consultation with the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources and the International Biological Programme.

E. Scientific Community

13. The African countries encourage national scientific societies and associations which, by establishing continental scientific unions, can help to create an African scientific community.

F. Participation in International Programmes

14. The African countries take note of international research programmes and consider how they may support and participate in programmes of scientific and economic interest to their countries, with the help of international and national agencies, such as the International Hydrological Decade, the Upper Mantle Project of the International Union for Geodesy and Geophysics (especially in its application to geological and geophysical studies of the African Rift Valleys), the International Biological Programme and the international oceanographic research programmes co-ordinated by the International Oceanographic Commission.

3. Scientific and Technical Personnel

It is recommended that:

A. Categories and Number of Personnel Needed

1. Categories of personnel required for research be established according to:

(a) the level of training of research workers, and (b) their scientific specialization.

2. In respect to level of training, the highest level be experienced scientists with post-graduate training, the middle level with a university degree and the third level with training at an institute after secondary school.

3. The research personnel pyramid be based normally on the following ratio with respect to research teams: 1 : 3 : 2 with the lowest level expanding in respect of applied research teams.

4. Unesco undertake a study of the distribution of levels of research workers in the English-and French-speaking countries of Africa with a view to establishing equivalences. It also undertake a survey of the total number of research workers at present at work in Africa.

5. For computing the rate of training of scientific personnel in Africa a target of 200 scientific workers and university teachers for 1 million inhabitants for the period 1965-80 be established as a target.

6. Each African country establish a scientific manpower register, setting forth in detail its needs for different categories and specialization of scientists, and subject this register to a continuing process of review.

B. Education Systems and Science Training

7. In line with the Addis Ababa recommendations the first six years of education be a general education, with the second six years divided into two stages, the first general in character and the second having a

number of specialized courses: the post-secondary stage leading to a technician course or a university level course.

8. The curriculum for the discipline relevant to the study and utilization of natural resources in Africa be examined and be adapted to the conditions of economic and social development and the need of African countries.

9. During the training in the various specialized fields of natural resources, an awareness of the interrelationship of the various disciplines be aimed at.

10. New approaches to the teaching of science be introduced, including the teaching of science at early stages in schools, making more use of realistic methods of practical and experimental work and of producing new textbooks suited to local conditions.

11. A study be made of the present use in Africa of audio-visual techniques for secondary and higher education and the availability of material for these techniques. An experiment in the large-scale use of audio-visual techniques be carried out in Africa.

C. Co-operation between Universities and Research Institutes

12. Co-operation between existing universities and research institutes be not limited to research activities, but also concern the training of scientists of all levels in order to ensure that the relevant research institutes assist actively in the training.

13. When considering the expansion of existing research institutes or the setting up of new institutes in the field of natural resources, the increased role these institutes could play in the training of scientists of all levels be carefully studied and measures be taken with a view to ensuring their optimum contribution towards this training.

D. Recruitment of Scientists and Statute

14. As African nationals who are scientifically trained are tempted not to return to their countries, and as young researchers and teachers are attracted to employment at higher pay with private industry :

- (a) the position of the research worker be examined with a view to upgrading salaries when necessary;
- (b) the introduction of an additional remuneration for the research worker undertaking teaching and university professor carrying out research be considered;
- (c) a statute for the research worker be established which will ensure stability and continuity of their work.

Such a statute provide, *inter alia*, for :

- (i) normally a probation period of two or three years in an assistant research officer grade during which time the candidate be expected to obtain his second degree and thereafter be assimilated into a permanent post;
- (ii) scientific institutions in general be outside the civil service structure in view of the special requirements of research and scientific work;

- (iii) if, however, these institutions remain in the civil service, salaries be such as to attract first-class personnel;
- (iv) promotion be on an 'individual' basis and not on an establishment basis ;
- (v) a chain of command establishments for research workers be provided allowing promotion from research officer to senior research officer to principal research officer, and in the case of scientists of considerable individual merit to beyond the 'director' stage.

15. Governments consider the provision in appropriate cases of: financial grants to student scientists, special bonuses to science teachers for limited periods, fellowships and grants to research students in science and technology.

E. Public Science Consciousness

16. Governments recognize their specific responsibility in the creation of science consciousness of the people and intensify their efforts, including financing, in this respect.

17. African scientists participate actively in the popularization of science using the press, radio, television and films as a means to create a public awareness of the importance of science, in particular with respect to natural resources, for the development of the country.

18. Full account of the importance of natural resources and the role of science in their development be taken in the preparation of textbooks and other material promoted by Unesco's World Literacy Campaign.

19. Science clubs, science associations, science museums and exhibitions and film libraries be used for helping to implant science in African countries.

4. Finance and Research Economics

It is recommended that :

A. Public Financing and the Allocation of Research Expenditure

1. In view of the absence of an adequate national scientific policy and the lack of any national machinery for co-ordinating and preparing such a policy, governmental action be undertaken along the following lines.

2. A national scientific research council, or similar body, be set up in each country as soon as possible, as recommended in Chapter 2.

3. A research budget be established for that body at an early date based on recommendations set forth in Chapter 1.

4. Research projects be planned for a minimum period of three years, and include provision for the necessary personnel and equipment.

5. As guidelines to the pattern of research expenditures, breakdowns according to the following categories be considered :

(a) object of research: fundamental; applied; development and adaptation;

(b) supporting services: dissemination of findings; documentation; auxiliary technical services; administration and management; co-ordination of research;

(c) nature of research expenditure: personnel; operational expenses; capital expenditure;

(d) balance of research expenditure at the national level: between categories of natural resources, between public and private sectors; between geographical regions; in proportion to national revenue; in proportion to the budget; per head of population; cost of co-ordination;

(e) balance of research expenditure at the institutional level: between sectors of activity; between research categories; between personnel categories; between personnel, operational and capital expenditures; between research and other headings; per research worker; as a minimum budget.

6. Unesco be requested to continue and improve the detailed survey on research institutions in the African countries, their present and future budgets, and include the corresponding statistical data and a breakdown of the various expenditures.

7. The following be considered as essential to ensure that there is a proper balance between the different items of research expenditure, and that the effort as a whole is economically viable: a proper balance between investment expenditure, staff costs, and running costs; a proper balance between the various types of scientific activity essential to progress so far as resources are concerned (inventories, experimental studies, development work and fundamental research); a proper balance between research on resources and other types of research, particularly in the human sciences; the special efforts required in connexion with personnel (see Chapter 3).

8. The sum of \$22,000 to \$24,000 per annum be established for the present as a standard estimate of the cost of a research team in Africa, consisting of an experienced research worker assisted by a young graduate or senior technician, while the standard estimate for the research pyramid consisting of one senior research worker, three graduate assistants and two technicians be established at \$50,000 at the present time.

B. Private Financing and the Encouragement of Private Research

9. Where appropriate within the general framework of national policy, research by private bodies and organizations be encouraged; such action take into account the over-all demands and priorities within each national economy while recognizing, equally, the main problems faced by the private sector, such as the small scale of typical enterprises, and the problems connected with imperfect diffusion of research results and the marketing of new products.

10. Where specific measures for the encouragement of private financing of research by commercial undertakings are accorded, the relationship between such private research and the research conducted by bodies in the public sector be harmonized, as far as possible, in the interests of the national economy as a whole, by national authority.

11. Co-operative research associations in sectors of the economy considered important to the development of the nation's economy be encouraged; the establishment of such associations be accorded initial government funding and be made contingent on a minimum level of private support and participation; incentive subsidies or tax benefits be also employed to encourage continued private participation; the organization of such associations to comprise industrial, education research and governmental representatives.

12. Tax concessions for types of research and related activities considered important to the development of the nation's economy be encouraged. Indirect measures such as tax benefits which have a strong appeal to those concerned with minimizing direct governmental intervention in the business and other private sectors of the economy be granted.

13. Technical assistance to assist private industry in developing a capability to do research and in obtaining an awareness of the possibilities of its application be provided by a governmental research institute, an international unit, or selected foreign research organizations in more developed nations.

14. An economic climate encouraging private risk-taking, investment and business growth and re-enforcing specific measures concerned with increasing private financing of research be developed, the promotion of research being not simply a matter independent of a nation's over-all economic development policies and programmes but rather an integral part of efforts to increase productivity, efficiency, and living standards.

C. Economics of Research: Determination of National Research Budget

15. The following criteria (not implying an order of priority) be used for the selection and formulation of individual projects:

- (a) at least cost;
- (b) on a sustaining basis having in mind the conservation of existing supplies, the discovery of new sources, and the development of cheaper or more plentiful alternatives;
- (c) with high a multiplying effect on further economic development;
- (d) so as to minimize or offset the difficulties of adjustment in particular regions and among particular groups;
- (e) so as to encourage a wide and equitable sharing of benefits and costs;
- (f) with contributions to better relations among nations for the advancement of all.

16. In the allocation of resources to the research sector as a whole, the following principles be used:

- (a) that, in the planning process, resource allocation to the research sector be treated as an investment of a strategic nature, the returns upon which can be expected to accrue only in the relatively long term;
- (b) that, in development plans, study and research should be clearly itemized and programmed in collaboration with research workers and the

prospective consumers of research results while allowing also for a degree of flexibility so as to accommodate at various stages, research projects, the necessity for which was not apparent at the outset;

(c) that due consideration should be given to the introduction of a 'studies and research' heading in the table setting out fixed capital formation under the economic accountancy system elaborated at the conference of statisticians, held at Addis Ababa under the auspices of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa;

(d) that such co-ordinating bodies as already exist, or may be set up in the future (such as national research councils), attempt, with such assistance as may be made available from international sources, to determine the over-all order of magnitude of the financial resources to be devoted to research, and their breakdown by type of activity and object.

(e) that, pending the results to be obtained from studies designed more clearly to establish the relationship between research and production on the one hand, and research and investment on the other, the following proportions may tentatively be put forward: an allocation of resources to the research sector to an approximate order of magnitude of 0.5 per cent of the gross national product, or 6 per cent of the total investment budget, subject to the review of these targets by 1970.

17. The statistical projections of this target and those on personnel contained in Chapter 3 be called to the attention of governmental planning and science authorities of the countries, as giving a picture of the needs of Africa for scientists and research resources and in the light of which each government be invited to establish its strategy of financing scientific research in the country.

Target number of scientists needed as a function of projected population increases and interrelationship between gross national product and research expenditure targets

	1970	1975	1980
Population (thousands)	277 882	312 333	353 243
Aggregate number of scientists at 200 per million population (thousands)	55.6	62.4	70.6
Gross national product (millions of U.S.\$)	39 696	49 895	65 233
Expenditure for education (millions of U.S.\$) :			
Total expenditure	2 865.0	3 492.6	4 160.4
Higher education	499.6	722.6	1 029.7
Expenditure for research (millions of U.S.\$) :			
Total expenditure	198.5	280.6	326.2
Fundamental research	39.7	56.1	65.3
Other research	158.8	224.5	260.9

18. Since the target estimates for fundamental research are included in higher education costs established at the Tananarive Conference, the additional funds for research in Africa ranging from \$158 million in 1970 to \$260 million in 1980 be provided.

19. In the African countries, studies on the relationship between research and gross national products on the one hand, and national investment budgets on the other, both at the macro- and the microeconomic levels be undertaken.

20. A meeting of economists, statisticians and researchers be organized as soon as possible to work out definitions in the economics and planning implications of research.

5. International Co-operation

A. Co-operation between OAU and UNESCO in regard to Scientific Research and Training in Africa

1. The conference,

Considering the importance of the organisation of research and training in Africa in relation to the study, conservation and utilization of natural resources for the development of African countries,

Considering the existence of a specialized commission dealing with these problems within the Organization of African Unity (OAU),

Considering the importance given in the programme of Unesco to these problems, as part of the priority accorded to the application of science and technology to development,

Considering that the activities of OAU and Unesco in this field are complementary and that in order to achieve maximum use of limited resources, OAU and Unesco should co-operate,

Having taken due note of the statement made by the Deputy Director-General of Unesco informing the conference of the steps already taken with a view to the conclusion of a formal agreement between Unesco and OAU,

Accordingly *hopes* that a satisfactory agreement will be reached as early as possible,

Recommends that :

- (a) the recommendations and the report of the conference be sent to OAU for consideration and action;
- (b) Unesco as well as other international organizations give technical and other support to the projects of the Scientific Commission of OAU.

B. Inter-African Co-operation

2. The conference,

Noting that not all African States possess enough training and research institutes, or sufficient teachers for the purposes of providing advanced education, or enough research workers, and believing that the African States should pool the resources and means available to them for these purposes.

Recommends that each African State should admit nationals of other African States to its institutes or training centres and always reserve sufficient places in them for the nationals of these States; and that arrangements under which professors and research workers could be exchanged should be studied and put into operation,

3. *The conference,*

Realizing that it would be impossible for some years to come for any single African State to possess institutions of high standards in all important fields of research and training in natural resources,

Recommends establishing or developing a network of national and international scientific institutions of the highest possible standard for training and research in natural resources in Africa;

And further recommends that in order to prevent duplication, institutions be selected for these purposes; in siting such institutions an equitable geographical distribution should be aimed at;

Proposes that such institutions should pursue any studies that pertain to the utilization and conservation of natural resources as, for example : cartography, hydrology, energy resources, arid zone research, savannah zone research, humid tropical zone research, geophysics and seismology, mining and economic geology, vulcanology, soil sciences, irrigation and drainage, oceanography and marine biology, plant pests and diseases, forestry, taxonomy and ecology, flora and fauna including wild life management, veterinary science, range management, limnology, tropical and sub-tropical medicine and parasitology, cancer research, building materials, documentation;

Suggests that heads of these institutions shall constitute themselves into a board for studies on natural resources, to deal with the problems of co-ordination and priorities in this area.

C. International Co-operation

4. *The conference,*

Notes the following principles governing aid provided by agencies in the United Nations system;

- (a) the principle of scientific independence of each country;
- (b) the principle of all action being based on request and demand of the country;
- (c) the principle that all programmes should form part of the national development plan of the country;
- (d) the principle of co-ordination in studying needs and in utilizing competing sources of co-operation and assistance, including study of social implications of research projects and programmes;
- (e) the principle of maximum self-help;
- (f) the principle of mutual co-operation;

Recommends that Unesco, the Economic Commission for Africa and the other United Nations agencies and organs, other inter-governmental and non-governmental bodies, and Member States of Unesco outside Africa continue and expand their collaboration with the African countries in regard to scientific research and training, through the provision of financial and technical assistance, devoting special attention to the quality of the services, and the research and training personnel so made available to the African countries.

Books and Periodicals Received

BOOKS

KARIUKI, MWANGI JOSIAH. Mau Mau Detainee. Oxford University Press, London. 1963. Pp. 188 \$ 4.75.

KAYE, GERALDINE. Kofi and the Eagle, Methuen, London. 10s. 6d.

KIRKWOOD, K. (ed.) St. Antony's Papers; African Affairs No. 2. Chatto & Windus, London. 1963. Pp. 129.

LAURENCE, M. The Prophet's Camel Bell (Somalia). Macmillan, London. 1963.

MEYEROWITZ, E. At the Court of an African King. Faber and Faber Ltd., London. 1962. Pp. 244.

MODISANE, BLOKE. Blame Me on History. Thames & Hudson, London. 1963 25s.

MOORE, G. Seven African Writers. Oxford University Press, London. 1962. Pp. 108. 4s.

NERES, P. French-speaking West Africa. Oxford University Press, London. 1962. Pp. 101. 7s. 6d.

NKRUMAH, KWAME. Towards Colonial Freedom. Heinmann, London. 1962. Pp. 45.

OBI, S.N.C. The Ibo Law of Property. Butterworth, London. 1963. Pp. 239.

PADMORE, GEORGE (ed.) History of the Pan-African Congress. Hammersmith, London.

PARRINDER, GEOFFREY. Witchcraft: European and African. Faber & Faber, London.

PAULME, DENISE (Translated by Michael Ross). African Sculpture. Elek Brooks, London. 1962. Pp. 637. 84s.

PETCH G.S. Economic Development and Modern West Africa. University of London Press, London. 1961. Pp. 224. 11s. 6d.

PICKLES, DOROTHY. Algeria and France; From Colonialism to Co-operation. Methuen, London. Pp. 320. \$6.00

POLLARD JOHN. African Zoo Man: The Life-story of Raymond Hook. Robert Hale Ltd., London. 1963. Pp. 176. 18s.

PORTER, ARTHUR T. Creoleedom: A Study of the Development of Freetown Society. Oxford University Press, London. 1963. Pp. 115. \$3.40.

PERIODICALS

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, An American Quarterly Review. 58, East 68 Street, New York, N.Y. \$6.00

U.N. MONTHLY CHRONICLE. United Nations Office of Public Information, United Nations, N.Y.

Selected Bibliography On Africa

Compiled by MOHD. AHMED

This feature is presented every quarter with the object of providing a list of recent publications on Africa. It is hoped that this will be helpful to those who are specially interested in the study of African affairs.

—Editor

ANDRZEJEWSKI, B.W. & LEWIS, I.M., *Somali poetry*. Oxford, Clarendon P., 1964. viii, 167 pp.

ARCHER, SIR GEOFFREY (FRANCIS). *Personal and historical memoirs of an East African administrator*. Edinburgh, London, published for the author by Oliver and Boyd, 35/-. 1963 (i.e. Feb. 1964) xiii, 260 pp.

BROWN, GODFREY NORMAN. *An active history of Ghana*. London, Allen and Unwin, 7/6 Apr. 1964, 144 pp.

BRZEZINSKI, ZBIGNIEW KAZIMIERZ, EDITOR. *Africa and the Communist world*. Stanford (Calif). Stanford U.P., London, Oxford U.P., 32/6 Apr. 1964 xiii, 272 pp.

CHURCH, RONALD JAMES HARRISON. *West Africa : a study of the environment and of man's use of it*. 4th ed. London, Longmans, 60/- 1963 (i.e. Jan. 1964) xxix, 543 pp.

CHURCH, RONALD JAMES HARRISON AND OTHERS. *Africa and the islands*. London, Longmans. 40/- Jun. 1964. XV, 494 pp.

CLAYTON, ERIC (SESFORD). *Agrarian development in peasant economies : some lessons for Kenya*. Oxford, London, Pergamon ; New York, Macmillan (N.Y.), 21/-. Mar. 1964. x, 154 pp.

COLE, SONIA MARY. *The prehistory of East Africa*, introduction by Richard Carrington, Completely revised and expanded ed. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 55/-. Apr. 1964. 383 pp.

COMMONWEALTH INSTITUTE. *The Federation of Nigeria*. London, University of London P. 9/6 Jan. 1964, 40 pp.

DEAN, WILLIAM HENRY. *Evidence in Nigerian criminal law*. London, Sweet and Maxwell, 21/- (12/6) Jan. 1964. xv, 141 pp.

DUNCAN, PATRICK. *South Africa's rule of violence*. London, Methuen, 13/6 Apr. 1964, 139, pp.

DU TOIT, A.E. *The earliest South African documents on the education and civilization of the Bantu*. Pretoria, Univ. S.A. 1963, 91 pp.

FISHER J.M. *The anatomy of Kikuyu domesticity and husbandry*. London, D.T.C., 1964. i, 303 pp.

FLEETWOOD, E.E. *Jucker—money and finance in Africa*. London, Allen & Unwin, 1964. 335 pp.

GEERTZ, CLIFFORD, EDITOR. *Old societies and new States : the quest for modernity in Asia and Africa*. New York, Free Press of Glencoe ; London, Collier—Macmillan, 55/-. Oct. 1963. ix, 310 pp.

GILDEA, RAY Y. *Nationalism and indirect rule in the Gold Coast 1900-1950*. New York, William-Frederick P., \$1.00 1964. 34 pp.

GRAY, R.F. & GULLIVER, C.G., editors. *The family estate in Africa*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964. xviii, 444 pp.

GREENE, A.H.M. KIRK. *A preliminary enquiry into Hausa onomatology : three studies in the origins of personal, title and place names*. Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University, 1964. v. 56 pp.

HANCE, WILLIAM A. *The geography of modern Africa*. New York, Columbia U.P. \$12.00 1964. xii, 653 pp.

HERSKOVITS, M.J. & HARWITZ, M., editors. *Economic transition in Africa*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964. xviii, 444 pp.

HOLLEMAN, J.F., editor. *Experiment in Swaziland*. New York, Oxford University P., \$9.60 1964. xi, 352 pp.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WORLD POLITICS, 4th, Athens, 1962, *New nations in a divided world : the international relations of the Afro-Asian states* ; edited by Kurt. New York, London, Praeger, 1963. xv, 334 pp.

JOHNSON, A.F., COMPILER. *A bibliography of Ghana, 1930-1961*. Evanston, Illinois : Northwestern U.P., \$6.50 1964. 210 pp.

JONES, GRIFF, (I.E. GRIFFITH BEVAN JONES). *Britain and Nyasaland*. London, Allen & Unwin. 36/-. Mar. 1964.

KINGSLEY, MARY (HENRIETTA). *West African studies 3rd ed.*, with a new introduction by John E. Flint. London, Cass. 60/-. Apr. 1964. xvii, 507 pp.

KYEREMATEN, A.A.Y. *Panoply of Ghana*. London, Longmans, 1964. viii, 120 pp.

LARSEN, PETER, *Young Africa*. London, Phoenix House. 1964. 148 pp.

LITTLE, I.M.D. *Aid to Africa ; an appraisal of U.K. policy*. Oxford, Pergamon. 1964. 76 pp.

LLOYD, ALAN. *The drums of Kumasi : the story of the Ashanti wars*. London, Longmans. 25/-. Jun. 1964. 208 pp.

MACHYO, B. CHANGO. *Africa in world trade*. 3 Collingham Gdns., London, S.W.5, Africana Study. 2/-. (1963) 16 pp.

MCBAIN, FREDERIC CLOW ALEXANDER. *A physical and economic geography : East Africa*. London, Oxford U.P., 6/6 1964 (i. e. Dec. 1963). iv, 140 pp.

MCCALL, DENIEL F. *Africa in time-perspective : a discussion of historical reconstruction from unwritten sources*. Boston (Mass), Boston U.P. Legon, Ghana U.P.

MICAUD, CHARLES A. *Tunisia, the politics of modernization*. New York, London, Frederick A. Praeger. 1963. 205 pp.

MONTEIL, VINCENT. *Morocco* ; translated (from the French) by Veronica Hull. London, Vista Books ; New York, Viking P. 6/7 Mar. 1964. 193 pp.

MORRIS, C.M. *Church and challenge in New Africa*. London, Epworth. 1964. 155 pp.

NDUKA, O.A. *Western education and the Nigerian cultural background*. Ibadan, Oxford U.P. 1964. viii. 168 pp.

OKOYE, M. *African responses : a revaluation of history and culture*. Ilfracombe, Stockwell. 1964. 420 pp.

ROSENTHAL, ERIC. *Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa* ; compiled, edited by Eric Rosenthal. 2nd ed. London, F. Warne. 42/- March. 1964. viii, 604 pp.

SALE, J.X. *The land and people of Ghana*. Philadelphia, Lippincott. 1963. 159 pp.

SEGAL, AARON. *Massacre in Rwanda*. London, Fabian Society. 3/- Apr. 1964. 28 pp.

SKINNER, THOMAS (publishers), LTD., *West Africa directory, covering the West Coast of Africa*. London, Thomas Skinner. 1963-64. 42/- Dec. (1963). 624 pp.

SPENCE, CHARLES FRANCIS. *Mozambique : East African province of Portugal*. London, Bailey & Swinfen. 35/- Dec. 1963. x, ii-147 pp.

SUMMERS, ROGER. *Zimbabwe: a Rhodesian mystery*. Johannesburg (etc.) London, Nelson. 21/- 1963. viii, 120 pp.

TOW, L. *The manufacturing industry of Southern Rhodesia*. Washington, Nat. Acad. Sci. 1960. x, 141 pp.

TRICARICO, A. *La scuola in Africa*. Balogna, Nigrizia. 1964. 125 pp.

UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA. *Industrial growth in Africa*. N.Y., U.N. 1963. viii, 100 pp.

URQUHART, A.W. *Patterns of settlement and subsistence in south-western Angola*. Washington, Nat. Acad. Sci. 1963 149 pp.

VAN VELSON, JAAP. *The politics of kinship : a study in social manipulation among the lakeside Tonga of Nyasaland*. Manchester, published on behalf of the Rhodes Livingstone Institutes (University College of Rhodesia & Nyasaland).

VOIGTS, B. *South-West African imprints*. Cape Town Univ. Sch. Lib. 1964. iii, 58 pp.

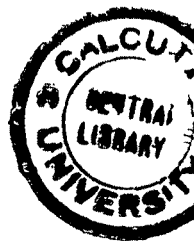
WELENSKY, SIR ROY (i. e. SIR ROLAND WELENSKY). *Wenlensky's 4000 days : the life and the death of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*. London, Collins. 36/- May 1964. 383 pp.

ZARTMAN, I.W. *Government and politics in Northern Africa*. London, Methuen. 1964. x, 205 pp.

ZARTMAN, IRA WILLIAM. *Morocco: Problems of new powers*. New York, Atherton P ; London, Prentice-Hall. 54/- Mar. 1964. xii, 276 pp.

AFRICA QUARTERLY

A Journal Of African Affairs



Vol. IV

January-March 1965

No. 4

Contents

PAGE

China in Africa	...	<i>S.K.G.</i>	224
The River-State of Gambia	...	<i>Ramesh Dutta Dikshit</i>	229
Nigeria's Role in World Affairs	...	<i>Adedokun A. Haastrup</i>	240
The Process of Nation-building	...	<i>T.L.V. Blair</i>	249
Industrial Relations in a Developing Economy	...	<i>B.N. Datar</i>	253
The 7th Session of <i>ECA</i> (Documentation)	...		259
Quarterly Chronicle	...		275
Activities of the Council	...		281
Bibliography	...		285

Note To Contributors

The Indian Council for Africa welcomes articles and contributions from all interested in African affairs, especially from those making particular studies of African problems and people. Remuneration may be paid for articles and contributions accepted for publication in the journal.

The views expressed in the articles under the authors' names are not necessarily those held by the Council.

AFRICA QUARTERLY

(A Journal of African Affairs)

Editor

Balvantray Gopaljee Mehta

Editorial Board

Asoka Mehta

Kakasaheb Kalelkar

B. Shiva Rao

Dinesh Singh

G. L. Mehta

H. N. Kunzru

Associate Editor

S. A. Mehdi, M.P.

AFRICA QUARTERLY is published in January, April, July and October every year.

AFRICA QUARTERLY is devoted to a study and objective understanding of African affairs. It publishes contributions from outstanding writers, experts and specialists on various political, economic, social, cultural and literary subjects of interest to the people of Africa. Apart from these, it carries documentation on different specialised African subjects.

© *Contents Copyright*

Subscription (*in India*) : Rs. 10 per annum
Single Copy : Rs. 3

Subscription (*Foreign*) : £ 1. 10sh. or \$ 5
Single Copy : 9sh. or \$ 1.50

Contributors to this issue

Mr. Ramesh Dutta Dikshit is a lecturer in Political Geography at the University of Gorakhpore, U.P.

Mr. Adedokun A. Haastrup is High Commissioner for the Federal Republic of Nigeria in India.

Dr. T.L.V. Blair is a sociologist and research consultant to various institutions dealing with Africa. As a Ford Foundation scholar he made a special study of the changing pattern of life in the ancient city of Kano in Nigeria in 1962. He is a Negro American.

Mr. B.N. Datar is chief of the Labour and Employment Division of the Planning Commission, New Delhi.

China in Africa—I

by S. K. G.

THE active interest shown by the People's Republic of China in African affairs and its increasing attempts to play a role in the dynamic African situation have now attracted world-wide attention. An attempt is made in this article to analyse the nature of Chinese interest in Africa and the potentialities of China to influence African developments.

The first important thing to be noted about China's role in Africa is that the military power of China, which backs most of its foreign policy moves in Eastern and Southern Asia, cannot be extended to Africa. China is not yet a global power in the military sense and it has a capacity to wield its power only in relation to the neighbouring countries. It has been the view of expert military analysts in the Western countries that "China's capability for sustained conventional action on a major scale outside its own borders is poor."¹ Chinese capabilities in the paramilitary field, that is, the entire spectrum of insurgency, including guerilla warfare, are considered to be high, but only in Southeast Asia. China's capacity to confront the other great powers in military terms lies in its capacity to wage guerilla warfare and limited warfare involving the deployment of its huge manpower. Obviously, it is beyond China's capacity today to extend its power to any region other than Southern Asia and East Asia. Africa is too far away for China to be directly involved militarily in African situations.

Political and Ideological Interest

Conscious of this weakness, China nevertheless attempts to be an important factor in African developments. Prime Minister Chou-En-lai after his visit to Africa in 1964 summed up the situation in the continent as follows: "An excellent revolutionary situation exists in Africa." To the Chinese leaders, obviously, the situation in Africa is such that it affords a great opportunity for China to play an active role in African affairs.

The primary urge of China in influencing African developments arises out of its conviction that the situation in Africa in the immediate post-freedom years is fluid and there are likely to be abrupt, drastic and violent changes in the internal political arrangements of these countries. The nationalist leaders of Africa are trying to grapple with problems of consolidating their nation states and of establishing a central authority and a

1. China's Capacity to Make War by Samuel B. Griffith, *Foreign Affairs*, January 1965.

single over-riding loyalty in these countries. The anti-imperialist urge in Africa is strong and many African leaders regard the threat of neo-colonialism as a real one. The general mood of Africa is radical and it is in the dynamics of the national struggle in Africa that radical solutions would be sought for the manifold problems of these countries. In all this, China finds an opportunity to extend its influence in Africa.

To take a growing interest in Africa is also an ideological need for the Chinese Government. It is their view that the world is basically divided between the developed and white North and the under-developed and coloured South. China is not only the largest country of the coloured world but also gives the most articulate expression to the demands and feelings of this part of the world. China's solidarity with the Africans, therefore, is a natural course of history. The presence of Western Europe, the United States and the Soviet Union in Africa is regarded only as an interference by the developed white countries in the affairs of Africa. From the Chinese viewpoint, only if consciousness can be roused in Africa of its racial solidarity with China and of its economic backwardness, the ground will be paved for the ultimate overthrow of all European and Western influences in Africa.

China needs Africa simply to prove that if its military power is growing, converting it gradually from a regional power to a global power, its political influence is already global inasmuch as it has a foothold in such distant continents as Africa and Latin America. Harping on the theme of the solidarity of Asian, African and Latin American people, China hopes to tread a short cut to the stabilisation of its influence in these continents in order to become a recognised global power as early as possible. The political importance of Africa and the significance of African opinion in world affairs is a compulsion for any country aspiring to be a great power to get interested in Africa and to try its very best to enlist African support. In the case of China, the traditional methods of extending influence are not available. What it lacks in the sphere of economic aid potential it hopes to make good by an emphasis on its own radical character. In brief, Africa is vital to China politically because China claims to be the leader of all under-privileged people and of all coloured nations.

The natural resources of Africa are such that a military power like China, which lacks some of the raw materials necessary for the growth of heavy industries and military plants, will be lured by the prospects of establishing fruitful trade and economic relationships with the African countries; pro-Chinese political changes in these societies would help in the realisation of these economic goals.

Weak Communist Parties

The major difficulty faced by China in Africa arises out of the fact that in very few African countries there is a communist movement and a communist party which will lend its services voluntarily to the People's Republic of China. It is necessary to briefly describe the state of the communist parties in Africa. In Algeria, which gained independence in July 1962, the communist party was banned in November that year, but the party still claims a membership of 5,000 to 6,000 (the population of Algeria is about 11 million). In Morocco also,

the communist party has been illegal since 1952 but it is supposed to have a membership of 1,000 to 1,500. It has little influence among the people of Morocco but, according to some statements by the leaders of the Government of Morocco, the communist party has been active among the students and teachers in that country. In Tunisia also, the party was banned on 3rd January, 1963, following an anti-government plot. It is supposed to have a membership of 1,000. In the 1959 elections, the communists polled 3,461 votes (0.4 %) and could not qualify for parliamentary representation. In Libya, there is no organised communist party. In Sudan, the communist party is illegal but it operates clandestinely with a membership of about 1,500. Its influence is largely confined to students. In Africa south of the Sahara, the communist movement is unimportant. There is no organised communist party in Bechuanaland, Burundi, Cameroon, Malawi, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somali, Swaziland, Tanganyika, Togo, Uganda and Upper Volta. Communist parties exist in Basutoland, Malagasy Republic, Nigeria, South Africa and Zanzibar. In Basutoland, the party membership is probably less than 100 and largely consists of exiles from South Africa. In Malagasy Republic, the party claims a membership of 1,500 but it is usually regarded as an exaggerated claim. On the trade union front, the communists are active and exert their influence through a political party called A.K.F.M., which has 3 seats out of 107 in the lower house. In Nigeria, the communist party is legal but has a membership of less than 500. In Zanzibar, the communist party broke away from the nationalist party in 1962. It then had a membership of about 3,000 but there was a further split in June 1963 and some communists broke away from the Z.C.P. to form the Uma party. While the position of the communist parties is insignificant, it is believed that crypto-communist activities exist in many of these countries and either through the dominant parties in these countries or through other groups, the communists have been trying to make their presence felt. It will be correct, however, to say that in Africa indigenous communist parties organised by local communists are as yet either non-existent or insignificant.

Growing Communications

The absence of organised communist parties in these countries and the determination of most of the Governments of Africa not to allow such parties to function makes it important for China to develop contacts with sections of these societies through other methods. One of the most familiar and well-known methods pursued by Peking is to send various kinds of visitors to African countries and welcome guests from those countries into China. China organises and maintains a number of organisations to look after this aspect of China's relations with the African countries. In March 1958 the Chinese Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries was founded. The Commission organised a cultural and friendship delegation headed by its Deputy Chairman Chu Kuang in November 1962. The delegation visited Tanganyika, Uganda, Sudan and the U.A.R. In April 1960 the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association was set up to support the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle in Africa, to promote friendly Chinese-African relations and to further cultural and economic relations. The President of this body is a member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist

Party. A 10-member delegation of this body led by its President, Liu Chang-sheng, visited Guinea, Ghana, Mali, Niger, Upper Volta, Senegal, Togo and Dahomey in early 1961. In 1962, the Asia-Africa Society of China was set up to promote academic research on political, economic, religious and cultural developments in Asian and African countries and increase China's exchanges with them. Another Chinese organisation greatly interested in African affairs is the Chinese-Islamic Society. It has a further role to play in the Islamic countries of Africa. Finally, there is the Chinese Committee of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation to keep track of China's interests in Africa. Through these organisations and on a governmental level, regular exchanges and visits to Africa have been organised in the last five years. In December 1964, for example, two delegations went out to Algeria—one led by the Vice-President of the Foreign Trade Development Organisation and the other, a Scientific and Technical Delegation. In January this year, a Technical Delegation went to Mali. In the same month, 38 Nanking acrobats visited Guinea. In December 1964 a hydro-geological survey group went to Zanzibar. In the same month, a student delegation of 3 went to Tunisia and in January this year a basket-ball team went to Tunisia, Guinea and Mali.

In the same two months, December 1964 and January 1965, China received the Minister of Public Works of Congo (Brazzaville), the Commissar-General of Militia of Algeria, the Rector of the University from Morocco, a variety troupe from Congo (Brazzaville), two student delegations from Kenya and a group of students from Algeria.

Zanzibar—a Case Study

While in many cases, these delegations are chosen by the Governments and received on an inter-governmental level, non-governmental efforts are also continuing. It will be interesting to review the growing communications between China and the African countries in the last few years to illustrate the interest of China in Africa. Zanzibar, which has attracted special attention from China, became independent in December 1963. In April 1964 the Chinese Ambassador presented his credentials. At the independence celebrations in December 1963 the Chinese Ambassador to Tanganyika represented his country. In 1964, a Government delegation led by the Minister of Education attended the May Day celebrations. From Zanzibar, a regular stream of visitors was welcomed in Peking even before the country became independent. In January 1960 Abdul Rehman Mohammad, General Secretary of the Nationalist Party, arrived in China. In April that year, the Organising Secretary of the Zanzibar Federation of Labour was welcomed in Peking. At the same time, a 4-member Zanzibar Youth's Own Union delegation were guests of the All-China Youth Federation. A delegation of the Nationalist Party visited China for 20 days in August 1960. In 1962, Mrs. Aiesha Ali Sultan, General Secretary of the National Federation of Democratic Women of Zanzibar, visited China as its guest. In June 1962 a 3-member delegation of the Zanzibar Federation of Labour was the guest of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. The same organisation invited and received later the General Secretary of the Federation of Progressive Trade Unions in Zanzibar. In May 1963 a 3-member delegation consisting of S.A. Salim, Publicity Secretary and Secretary for International Relations of the Nationalist Party, R.S. Salim, Deputy General Secretary and Foreign

Representative of the Afro-Sherazi Party, and M.M. Ali visited China after attending the Afro-Asian Journalists Conference in Indonesia. In June that year, Ahmed Maolid, Assistant Deputy Director of the International Department of the Zanzibar Federation of Progressive Trade Unions, concluded a visit. Mrs. Aiesha Ali Sultan was again in China in July 1963 (Mrs. Sultan had been critical of the Soviet Union at the International Women's Conference in Moscow). A 4-member women's delegation arrived in China on 29th December, 1963, representing the Zanzibar Federation of Democratic Women. In September, there were three other visitors from Zanzibar to China: M. Abid Khamis, Vice-Chairman of the Uma party, Ali Sultan Issa, Director of the International Department of the Federation of Progressive Trade Unions, and Mrs. Abdullah Abdul Rehman Mohammad, wife of the Chairman of the Uma party. The Chairman himself joined the delegation later. Towards the end of the year, the Vice-Chairman of the Federation of Labour, Khamis Massoud, arrived in China and S.S. Salim, a labour leader, was in China in November 1963. In 1964, the trend continued. Among those who were received in China that year were: Adam Shafti, member of the Central Committee of the Uma Youth, Abdul Satar Mohammad Oathman, General Secretary of the Medical and Allied Workers' Union, and Ismail Sale Ismail, First Vice-President of the Zanzibar Federation of Revolutionary Trade Unions. A delegation of the Afro-Sherazi Youth League also visited China. In December last year, the General Secretary of the Students Union, Mohammad Ali, was in Peking. Earlier, a film dubbing group stayed for 43 days in Peking and visited Shanghai and Hang Chou. In September 1964 the President of the Afro-Sherazi Youth League, with four others, was in China. Representatives of the Zanzibar Radio and Zanzibar News Agency were guests of the Chinese Government in May and June.

While Zanzibar is one of the African countries with which China has specially attempted to develop contacts and communications, with Africa as a whole the exchange of visits and delegations has been mounting at a high level. On 8th November, the Tunisian newspaper, the *Zeune Afrique*, wrote: Chinese diplomats have established a whole network of posts, agents and "contacts" along the arch of a circle from Dar-es-Salaam to Brazzaville—northwards to Kenya and Somalia, southwards to Zambia, South Africa and Basutoland. The nerve centre of the network is the Chinese Embassy at Dar-es-Salaam...The outstanding figure is Kao Liang, the tenacious and omnipresent correspondent of the New China News Agency (NCNA). He it is who makes, for the Ambassador, all the necessary soundings and serves as an intermediary between the diplomats and their African "contacts"...There are 30 or 40 Chinese in Dar-es-Salaam (twice as many as all the other diplomats combined) and at least 20 in Kenya, a dozen in Uganda; little Burundi has 20 Chinese against only 4 Russians.

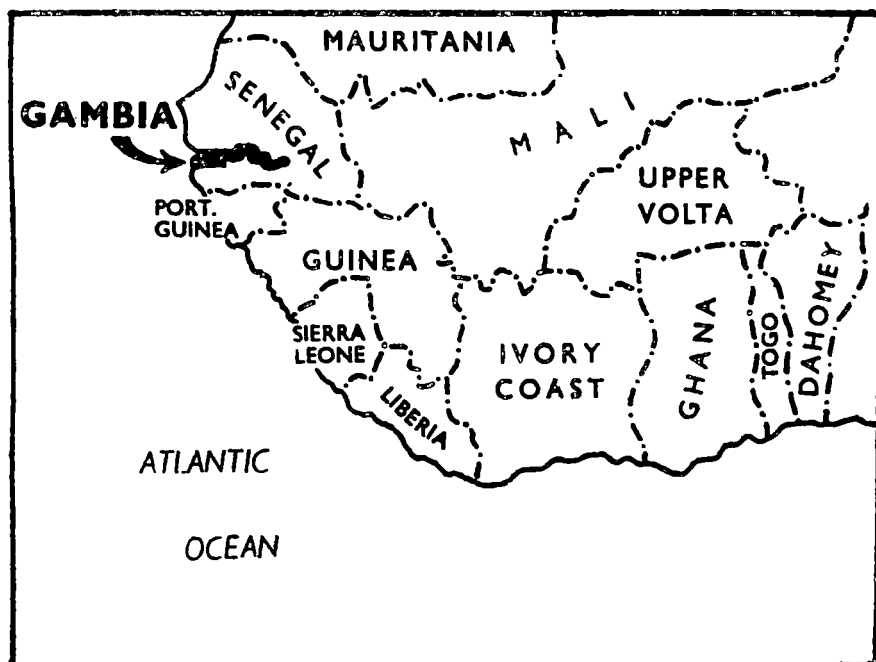
(To be continued)

The River-State of Gambia

by RAMESH DUTTA DIKSHIT

THE British colony and protectorate of Gambia, which attained self-rule on October 4, 1963, emerged as an independent sovereign State on February 18, 1965. This brings to an end Britain's colonial responsibilities in West Africa. Gambia was the oldest British possession in Africa.

One of the queerest shaped countries in the world, Gambia resembles a crooked finger thrust into the territory of Senegal which completely



surrounds it except on its about 30 miles of the Atlantic coast. It may be likened to a mounted thermometer in which the tube represents the 300 miles of the Gambia River, stretching inland at right angles to the coast and the mount a strip of territory 10 kilometres wide on either side of the river".¹ It is, thus, pre-eminently a river-state. It is a "classic example

1. Chisholm's Handbook on Commercial Geography, P. 694, London, 1960.

of boundaries equidistant from a river; its border lines (except on the west) are located ten kilometres (6 miles) from the Gambia River."² The former colony (i. e. the Island of St. Mary, including Bathurst and the urban area of Kombo St. Mary) and the protectorate (now referred to as 'Provinces') of Gambia consist of the last 295 miles of the Gambia River—180 miles as the crow flies—with a strip of land on each bank varying from 7 to 20 miles wide.³ The area of the country is 4,003 sq. miles. The area of the former colony accounts for 29 miles of this. The remaining 3,974 sq. miles formed the Gambia protectorate. According to the April 1963 census it had a total population of 315, 486.

Although the banks of the Gambia River have been inhabited for many centuries, there is not sufficient archaeological or written evidence to throw much light on the earliest history of the country. Much of our knowledge is limited to the period after the European contact. The first Europeans to visit the area were Aluise da Cada Mosto, a Venetian, and Antoniotto Usi di Mare, a Genoese, who were commissioned by Prince Henry of Portugal, which, by the treaty of Tordesillas (1494), secured exclusive rights of trade on the west coast of Africa. In 1588 a claimant to the throne of Portugal granted the right to trade along the Gambia River to certain London and Exter merchants. These grants were later transferred to other merchants after being confirmed by Queen Elizabeth I. Certain British expeditions in 1651-52 to the Gambia River had reported the existence of a gold mine in the upper reaches of the river. With a view to exploiting the economic situation a new patent was granted to the Royal Adventurers trading with Africa. The Royal Adventurers' expedition captured the Fort James Island—16 miles upstream, then known as St. Andrew's Island—from the Duke of Courland, a Baltic State. Fort James became the first permanent British settlement on the west African coast. The Royal African Company purchased the rights granted to the Royal Adventurers in 1672 and it was responsible for trade in the area until 1750. The Company later became insolvent and in 1750 by an Act of Parliament its rights were transferred to a new company. Between 1765 and 1783 the territory formed part of the Crown Colony of Senegambia. In 1783 Senegal was given back to France and Senegambia ceased to exist. In 1821 Gambia was placed under the jurisdiction of the Government of Sierra Leone. In 1843 it was created a separate colony but was reunited with Sierra Leone in 1866. In 1888 Gambia was again separated from Sierra Leone and was established as a colony. In 1902, with the exception of the Island of St. Mary and Kombo St. Mary, the whole of Gambia was brought under the protectorate system.⁴

On being established as a separate colony in 1888, Gambia was provided with a Governor and Executive and Legislative Councils. A constitution introduced in 1915 provided for unofficial members to be appointed to the Legislative Council, but in it there was no special provision for the representation of the then protectorate on either of the Councils. A new constitution, approved in 1946, provided for the first time that at least one nominated unofficial member should represent the people of the protectorate on the Executive Council. It also provided for one unofficial

2. Valkenburg, S. Van, *Elements of Political Geography*, P.98, New Delhi, 1963

3. *The Gambia*, British Information Service, London, Sept., 1964.

4. Gray, J. M. *A History of the Gambia*, Cambridge University Press.

member to be elected on a limited franchise by the inhabitants of the colony only. Some amendments were effected in 1951 and in 1954 a new constitution came into force which provided for wider protectorate representation—14 elected members on the Legislative Council and two nominated unofficial members. There was for the first time an unofficial majority in the Executive Council.

In September 1959 universal adult franchise was granted for the first time. Prior to this franchise was limited to the 25,000 people of the colony.⁵ The constitution introduced in 1960 provided for 34 members in place of 21. Of these 27 were elected members (12 from the protectorate, 7 from the colony and 8 elected from among tribal chiefs), 3 nominated unofficials and 4 ex-officio members. The Governor was President of the Council. In May 1960 Gambia had its first general election. In April-May 1962 a new constitution came into force which granted considerable internal self-government to the country. The strength of the House of Representatives was increased to 39 members—32 elected (7 from the colony and 25 from the protectorate) on the basis of universal adult suffrage, 4 elected by tribal chiefs and 3 non-voting members—the Attorney-General and two members nominated by the Governor. The House was presided over by an elected speaker. In May 1962 elections to the House of Representatives were held and a coalition of the Peoples Progressive Party and the Democratic Congress Alliance led by Mr. David Kwesi Jawara formed the Government. Full internal self-government was introduced on October 4, 1963. The Governor continued to reserve to himself certain powers over internal security, defence and foreign affairs. The Gambia Independence Conference was held in London in July 1964. Apart from the handing over, to the elected Government, of the residual powers of the Governor, the Conference did not recommend any major changes in the constitution.⁶ As a result of the Independence Conference Gambia emerged as an independent sovereign state on February 18, 1965. Gambia will continue to be associated with the Commonwealth as a full member. Queen Elizabeth is represented by the Governor-General, who is appointed by the British Crown on the recommendation of the Prime Minister of Gambia. Gambia has entered into an agreement with Senegal for a close association. Senegal will help Gambia in matters of defence and political representation.

Situated roughly between 13° and 14°N latitudes, Gambia has warm weather conditions throughout the year. The climate is hot and humid and there are clearly marked hot and cool seasons. The temperatures range between 60°F and 110°F (15.6°C and 43.3°C) and from November to May there is a dry season of pleasantly low temperatures and humidity. As in most of West Africa north of the 10° N latitude there is an almost complete cool-season drought. On and near the estuary of the Gambia River, as in Senegal, the intensity of the dry season is lessened by heavy dew, relative humidity, lower temperatures and sea breezes.⁷ Rainfall from June to October averages about 40 inches on the coast (at places up to 50 inches), decreasing inland. August is the rainiest month. Up the river, away from the Atlantic coast, Savannah climate prevails and for most of the time dry and dusty winds blow. The high humidity accom-

5. Worldmark Encyclopaedia of the Nations, P. 1044. New York 1960.

6. See the Gambia Independence, 1964. HMSO, 1964

7. Harrison-Church, R. J. West Africa, P. 217, London 1961.

panied by high temperatures, especially in the lower riparian tracts, gives the climate that enervating touch which renders the area so uncongenial to white settlement and has earned for it the title of Whiteman's Grave.⁸ In 1943 President Roosevelt caught fever at Bathurst and writing back to Mr. Churchill referred to the place as a "hell-hole"⁹ Despite a number of improvements malaria is still among the main diseases that plague Gambia. Other common diseases are tetanus, gastro-enteritis, round worm and hook worm infections, trachoma, T. B., leprosy, gonorrhea and whooping cough. There is protein deficiency among young children caused by infectious diseases. In some rural areas over 400 out of every 1,000 children die within five years of their birth. In co-operation with UNICEF and WHO measures are being taken to control these diseases.

The landscape in the country is dominated by the Gambia River. The country extends on either side of the river and is too small to have any physiographic variety. Dr. Jarret¹⁰ has however recognized the following regions in Gambia on the basis of differences in soil, vegetation and drainage : (i) The Coastal Region, (ii) The Mongrove Swamps, (iii) The Banto Faros, meaning beyond the swamps, (iv) The Sand-hill Region, and (v) The Sandstone Interior Plateau.

According to the census of April 1963 Gambia has a total population of 315,486, of which 27,809 is in Bathurst, 12,208 in the suburban area of Kombo St. Mary and the rest in rural areas. Thus, although the overall density is about 80 people to the sq. mile the rural population density is just under 70 people per sq. mile. This is a fairly high figure for the region.

Agriculture is the main occupation of the people and the national economy of Gambia is essentially agrarian. An estimated 300,000 acres (about 450 sq. miles) of the country is under cultivation every year. Groundnut is the leading crop and is grown mainly for export. It is grown on light sandy soils away from river-side swamps. Millet is grown generally on newly cleared land or land manured by cattle. Swamps and other marshy lands are used for growing rice, particularly in the middle river area between the Trans-Gambia Highway and Georgetown. Cassava and maize are mainly grown on household plots. Dry season gardens, watered by streams or shallow wells, are used for growing shallots, tomatoes, okra and peppers.

Although groundnut cultivation in Gambia is the mainstay of the people, farming is not done on scientific lines. Little attention has been given to the improvement of seeds, etc. However there has been an improvement in the total yield since the post-war period. The average annual output today stands at 79,000 tons against an average of 52,000 tons in 1945-50. The average per acre yield is between 900 and 1,000 lb. One of the causes of this low yield is a soil deficient in magnesium and boron. The place of groundnuts in the national economy can be assessed

-
8. Gambia : Its History and Politics, a WPS feature in the Indian Express, October 4, 1963.
 9. Quoted by Sir W. Churchill in the Second World War, Vol. I, 4, P. 662.
 10. Jarret, H. R. Major Natural Regions of the Gambia, Scott Geog. Mag. 1949 Pp. 140-144.

from the fact that in 1956 groundnut exports accounted for £2.25 million out of the total exports of the value of £ 2.55 million. In 1963 the total value of exports was £ 3,097,000 out of which groundnuts accounted for £ 2,189,000.

The dependence of the national economy on a single crop is unfortunate. Although the dangers of monoculture were recognized by the authors of the development programme, the emphasis upon groundnut cultivation was continued because it was thought there was no alternative for the present: "Diversification, new methods of husbandry, land development and land tenure reform are long-term projects involving large funds and large risks. The present is not the moment for facing such risks." Although the scheme for large-scale production of rice, sponsored by the Colonial Development Corporation, did not yield the expected results, considerable expansion in the cultivation of rice has taken place. In many parts it is the principal food crop and is sometimes grown as a secondary cash crop¹¹. To bring about variety in the economy of the state, the Colonial Development Corporation launched a Mass Production Poultry Scheme in 1948. The scheme was abandoned two years later when in 1950 fowl-typhoid killed 30,000 out of 80,000 birds. The scheme was based on local feed, which soon became scarce. In 1951 the scheme was abandoned after incurring a loss of £628,000. In all 38,250 eggs valued at £ 375 were exported. The cost of production was over £ 20 per egg. This illustrates the poverty of soil and the endemic fowl disease prevalent in the area¹².

Cattle are grazed on river-side wet lands. In 1962 there were 182,000 cattle, 54,000 sheep, 94,000 goats and 2,000 pigs. Milk yields tend to be low. Apart from providing meat for local consumption the main use of the herds is as manuring agents. Sheep and goats are slaughtered on festive occasions and pigs bred for the Bathurst market.

An annual migration, inwards and outwards, of "strange farmers" is a notable feature of the agricultural economy of Gambia. Some 15,000 or 16,000 of them come regularly from the neighbouring territories, grow a crop of groundnuts by arrangement with the resident farmers, and then return home. The number of the migrant farmers has decreased as the railways in Senegal have largely eliminated the necessity of farming near the Gambia highway¹³.

The number of "strange farmers" varies from year to year. The highest recorded figure was 32,000 in 1915. The 1942 figure was as low as 2,600. In 1963 there were 5,726 registrations. Jarret¹⁴ has shown that there is no close relation between the number of "strange farmers" in any year and the size of the crop exported or the land revenue received by the resident farmers.

Deposits of ilmenite were discovered in 1953 on the Atlantic coast and mining was initiated in 1956. This mineral has a high titanium oxide

11. The Gambia, British Information Service, Sept. 1964.

12. Harrison Church, *West Africa*, p. 223.

13. See Suggate, *L. S. Africa*, p. 177, London, 1951.

14. Jarret, H. R. *The Strange Farmers of Gambia*, *Geographical Review*, 1949 Pp. 649-57.

content and is found on the raised beaches up to a depth of 8 to 10 ft. In 1957, 21,350 tons of the mineral was taken out. A year later, the mining tempo slowed down due to unfavourable prices.

Gambia has hitherto derived little benefit from the rich supplies of inshore and deep sea fish which are found off the West African coast. A new groundnut oil mill and refinery were built near Bathurst in 1962-63 and work is continuing on improving a neighbouring mill. When this is completed, Bathurst will have three mills and two decorticating plants which will enable the country to export half of its groundnut output in the form of oil. The decorticating plants are at Kau-ur and Kuntaur.

The Gambia River, one of the finest waterways on the west coast of Africa, is the country's main means of transport. Ocean vessels with a draught of up to 19 ft. can always reach Kuntaur, 150 miles upstream from Bathurst. Vessels not exceeding a draught of $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. can go on to Fototo, 288 miles upstream from Bathurst. Launches and canoes can reach Koina, 292 miles upstream, the last village in Gambia territory, where the tidal range is still 2 ft. There are 33 important wharf towns along the river. The estuary of the river begins at Elephant Islands, 93 miles upstream, where the river is a mile wide. The river carries the trade and commerce of the neighbouring sections of Senegal also, for which it is a natural outlet. About half of the total quantity of groundnuts exported from Bathurst comes from Senegal¹⁵. Since the completion of the railway from Kayes to Dakar the flow of Senegal trade through Bathurst has declined. There are cargo and mail boat services for Britain and West African ports. There is an international airport at Yundum, 17 miles from Bathurst.

The 1964 budget for Gambia shows an estimated revenue of £ 2,141,000 and an estimated expenditure of £ 2,676,000. This indicates a deficient economy.¹⁶

The foregoing survey of the natural resources and national economy of Gambia lays bare before us the following points of geopolitical interest :

1. Gambia is economically a poor country, dependent largely on groundnuts as its main export earner. It is not self-sufficient even in the matter of food supplies although lately improvements in food production have been recorded. It has practically no industrial minerals and sources of power. It is evident that Gambia can be economically viable only if it receives a great deal of financial aid from outside. Even the groundnut exports of Gambia are vulnerable. Its chief advantage was river transport. With the developing net of transportation lines in Senegal the strain is already showing.
2. When drainage basins become international frontiers they give rise to certain anthropogeographic problems in inter-state relations whose solution is fraught with difficulties because

15. Fitzgerald, W. Africa, P. 340, London, 1955.

16. The following section on the prospects for free Gambia is based on the author's article in Foreign Affairs Reports.

they, more often than not, cut across settled communities and thus disturb a settled cultural pattern.¹⁷ The boundaries of Gambia, which do not follow any geographic line of separation, have proved most unsatisfactory. They pass right through a number of tribal groups, including the Wolof and the Mandingan communities. In consequence, the problem of government has been greatly complicated by a continual coming and going across the international frontier.¹⁸ As long as the river-state was under the control of the British, the boundaries did not present any strain. We, however, cannot rule out possibilities of pressure on the borders in future.¹⁹ If such pressures on the boundaries at all arise, Gambia, with its tiny size and poor resources, may not be able to withstand them firmly.

3. Gambia is politically immature. It has had no traditions of democracy—the 1960 elections were the first when the people were given the right to vote. Hardly two per cent of the people are literate; less than 5 per cent of children attend school in the area of the former protectorate—in the former colony, however, nearly 70 per cent go to school. There are no institutions of higher learning. In such a state of affairs it is difficult for Gambia to hold its own after complete independence. The illiteracy and poverty of the people provide a favourable ground for the germination of subversive activities and a Chinese-type of aggressive Communism.²⁰

Gambia, with its tiny size and small population and very unsatisfactory international boundaries, is economically too poor and geopolitically too immature to stand by itself as a viable independent nation. But its dependent status was no good. Fortunately, Gambia is now free and the Gambians are free citizens of a free nation. If Gambia, in view of its vulnerable economic and political situation, should decide not to stand aloof, there are two possibilities open to it: it could join the West African Federation with Sierra Leone and certain former British possessions in the region.²¹ The force behind such an idea is that these territories, having been for long under British control, have developed a similar political and cultural mosaic and each possesses a common official language in English. A federation could therefore appear quite feasible.²² There is, however, no demand for such a federation from any of these territories and none of them would gain much from it as all of them are agrarian and Gambia does not offer any strategic advantage to them. Further, such a federation will be a very patchy

17. For a brief discussion, see, Moodie, A. E., *Geography Behind Politics*, Pp. 92-96, London, 1949.

18. Fitzgerald, W., *op. cit.*

19. Gambia is fortunate in having a patient neighbour which believes that 'the future of Gambia is a matter for the Gambians'.

20. China was one of the first states to recognize Gambia.

21. Alexander, Lewis, M., *World Political Patterns*, P. 241, Chicago.

22. But the use of a common official language is in no way an essential feature of nationhood. Canada has two official languages and Switzerland four, yet there is a Canadian nation and a Swiss nation. See Dale, E.H., *State Idea: Missing Prop of the West Indies Federation*, *Scott Geographical Magazine*, Dec. 1962.

affair with the constituent units lying far apart. This will not be conducive to a proper administration in peace and war. There are no cultural affiliations and strategic considerations pulling these territories together unlike in the case of the former British territories in South-East Asia now united in Malaysia.

Alternatively, Gambia could seek integration with Senegal, which surrounds it on three sides. As a scrutiny of geographical, economic, cultural and strategic considerations will show, a federation between Gambia and Senegal is geopolitically the wisest move—a move which will be of immense advantage to both. In the first place Gambia is, from the viewpoint of physical geography and anthropogeographic considerations of culture and traditions, an integral part of Senegal. The river-state of Gambia covers only the lower sections of the whole drainage basin of the Gambia River; its upper reaches are all in Senegal. No geographic considerations justify the parcelling out of this small area from the rest of the basin. It is as if all the navigable Thames or Mississippi, together with the narrow lands on either side, were held by another country.²³ We may better visualize the situation with the example of the Ganga.

The international boundary between Senegal and Gambia is drawn arbitrarily at a distance of 10 kilometres on either side of the river. It divides several settled communities. As a matter of fact even the drawing of this boundary has not placed a sufficient check on inter-state movements. The Gambians, in point of fact, make a cultural whole with the rest of the people across the borders in Senegal. Inter-marriage between the communities on their side is in vogue. There are, besides, 15,000 or so "strange farmers" moving across the borders annually. The position has been admirably summed up by Leopold Senghor, Senegal's President: "The Gambians are, by nature and tribe, one with us. Their separateness is an accident of history".

With the creation of a separate state (Gambia) on the lower and navigable course of the Gambia River, the waterway has been divorced from its natural hinterland and the rational economic development of Sene-Gambia has been gravely compromised and the usefulness of the waterway greatly reduced. The political ruination of the waterway and the division of Senegal into two limbs could be ended by the integration of a self-governing Gambia with Senegal. The Gambia River would then help reduce the cost of transporting groundnuts and other goods (e.g. hides and skins) from a vast hinterland. The increased trade would add to the growth and prosperity of the river towns and the port of Bathurst. A short railway line might then be made with Tambacounda on the Dakar-Niger railway.

It is to be noted that since the completion of the railway from Kayes to Dakar the flow of Senegal's trade through Bathurst has declined. Dakar has shared the gain from this diversion of traffic with the harbour of Kaolak, 60 miles north of Bathurst²⁴. If the political barriers continue to exist there may be a further trade diversion. This will mean greater

23. Church, R. J. Harrison, *Environment & Policies in West Africa*, D. Van Nostrand, 1963, P. 44.

24. Dealt with more fully in the following section.

proverty for Gambia. Thus geographic, economic and political considerations cry for an early integration of Gambia with Senegal and the return of this "ocean gateway" (the longest deep water inlet of the Guinea Coast) to its vast hinterland in the former French territory.

Referring to the coastal enclaves in Africa, Hamdan²⁵ observes : "Curiously enough the political-economic effects of the existence of these microscopic units are immense. The enclaves leave considerable areas of the surrounding States in their political shadow, cutting the States off from the sea, complicating communications. Transport must either go through the enclave by special arrangement or must take a devious, uneconomical detour, which often discourages and sterilizes the development of the hinterland. Thus groundnut cultivation in south-eastern Senegal has been chronically retarded and the Casamance, the south-western part of Senegal, is virtually severed from the rest of the country by the intrusive wedge of Gambia and is left a cultural and economic backwater.²⁶ Ironically Gambia itself is equally paralyzed, since it lacks an effective hinterland. The coastal enclave is thus detrimental both to itself and its hinterland, to head and body alike."

There can be no justification for keeping the head and the body apart. The integration of Gambia and Senegal is therefore the crying need of the hour.

A team of United Nations experts appointed to go into the problem of a Sene-Gambia association, envisaged three distinct possibilities : (i) a complete merger with special protection of the rights of the Gambians; (ii) a federation; and (iii) ratification of treaties establishing a Sene-Gambia entente wherein both the parties will retain full sovereignty. For the present Gambia has chosen the third course and according to agreements Senegal will help Gambia in matters of defence and political representation. Technical cooperation between the two started earlier in such matters as transportation, telecommunications, and agriculture through a permanent committee.

There are a number of difficulties in the way of Gambia's integration or close federation with Senegal. The main obstacle is that political separation has gone on for so long that the colonial policies and methods followed by France and Britain have left uneffaceably different political, social, and economic imprints upon the two countries.²⁷ In Senegal there has been from the beginning "direct rule", a centralized administration in which tribal chiefs have played almost no part. In Gambia, in keeping with the British policy in other parts of Africa, there has been indirect rule through the tribal chiefs.^{27b} "It left the indigenous political structure untouched, except for supervision by British political officers organized not to supersede the indigenous government but to parallel it." It is for this reason that a federation or integration of Gambia with Senegal is very difficult. No wonder that the Gambian chiefs are against it.

25. Hamdan, G., *The Political Map of the New Africa*, Geographical Review, July 1963, P. 431

26. In 1959 Casamance was linked by direct road across Gambia built by the French.

27. Church, *Environment and Policies in West Africa*, 1963., P. 46.

27b. On "Indirect Rule" see Dikhshit, R.D. "Uganda : A geopolitical study", Section IV B, *Local Kingdoms*, Modern Review, Jan. 1965,

Senegal and Gambia, having been under French and British rule respectively, have had different official languages and different educational systems. While the official language of Senegal is French that of Gambia is English. Gambia has been educationally backward while Senegal has been the leading country in the field of education in the whole of French West Africa. Besides some outstanding high schools and grammar schools it has the former French West Africa's first university at Dakar.

The fiscal policies of the two are also quite different. In Senegal taxation is indirect, particularly on consumer imports and the cost of living is high. In Gambia, taxation is more direct, imports are cheap and varied in origin, and the cost of living much lower. Senegal is a member of the tightly controlled Franc Zone and Gambia of the freer Sterling Bloc. The place of the United Kingdom in the ex-British West African trade has fallen in recent years and was in 1961 only about 35 per cent for Gambia; the place of France in the ex-French West African trade was over 65 per cent. Senegal, like other ex-French territories, is still tied to France by the high, guaranteed prices she offers for the main crops. These states also provide heavily protected markets for French exports. There is a great range of French industries for which trade with ex-French Africa is vital, but there are very few British industries for which ex-British Africa is important. In these there are no great tariff preferences for British goods. As a result, prices have always been lower in ex-British West Africa than in ex-French West Africa and goods more varied in origin. It is for this reason that whereas high, guaranteed prices are still accorded by the French for Senegal's peanuts and peanut oil, Gambia gets a much lower price, more related to the world figure.²⁸

In the event of its federation or integration with Senegal the cost of living in Gambia is bound to rise and the variety of imports will decline. This will affect the common man as also the business community, for many of the imported articles are smuggled across the border. Senegal has its own difficulties. France is already finding it difficult to absorb the peanuts from Senegal. It is doubtful whether she will be prepared to purchase more of this crop at high prices if Gambia joins Senegal.

There are other difficulties too. In a Sene-Gambian federation Bathurst might lose much of its political and economic importance. It will no more be the capital. Hence the civil servants and businessmen living in the capital are afraid of unemployment. After federation, if the river traffic over Gambia develops, Bathurst and other Gambian towns will benefit but there are difficulties in developing trade and commerce to any great extent. The Senegalese railway had suffered from decreased traffic when the Senegal-Mali Union failed. It is bound to resent competition from the cheaper traffic on the parallel Gambia River.

Apart from these socio-economic problems, there is a constitutional difficulty. There is a provision in the Gambian constitution that amendments seeking a complete integration with Senegal must have the support of at least two-thirds of the elected members of the legislature and also the general support of the electorate. It is said that British statesmen managed to keep this provision in order to retain Gambia in their fold and do away with the possibilities of its merger with Senegal.²⁹

28. Church, R. J. Harrison, *Environment and Policies in West Africa*, Pp. 46-47 and 121.

29. *Dinman*, op. cit, Feb. 21., 1965.

A development programme extending over a period of three and a half years has been envisaged for independent Gambia. The programme is to cost £ 4.4 million. Britain has agreed to pay £800,000 and is prepared to pay another £400,000. But it is difficult to understand how this small nation with a deficient economy, deficient food supplies and dependent for a large part of its revenue upon peanuts—the market is shrinking and prices are going down every year—will be able to stand firm in the absence of continued aid from outside.

Now that Gambia is in control of its own destiny, its future moves will be worth watching. In the past, for a number of reasons the British authorities were complacent about the development of Gambia and did not take advantage of the excellent coastal location of this enclave. Although the political situation in territories neighbouring Gambia has considerably changed, there may still be economic advantages in developing a free port. Gambia “has for long been unviable as a colonial unit, and it would plainly be so as an independent country, short of some most unlikely miracle such as striking oil—already prospected for but not found in commercial quantities”.³⁰

30. Church R. H. Harrison, *Environment and Policies in West Africa*, P. 46.

Nigeria's Role in World Affairs*

by ADEDOKUN A. HAASTRUP

IT gives me great pleasure to be in your midst today. I am indeed delighted and feel extremely honoured to be afforded the opportunity to speak to this distinguished select gathering of members of parliament and representatives of voluntary organizations, under the auspices of the Indian Council for Africa. I recall with pride what I was told by some friends in Nigeria who had visited this country before. They expressed the opinion that here in India abound groups, organisations, associations or societies, and men and women of goodwill who have great enthusiasm and considerable interest in knowing more and more about African countries; who study their problems and explore ways and means of co-operation and collaboration with them. I was informed that such Indians, realising the common misfortune the continents of Asia and Africa had suffered in consequence of colonialism, and also alive to the fact that the fortunes of the two continents in the modern world are closely knit together, are anxious to share their knowledge and experience as citizens of an independent nation with those countries that attain independence after their own.

Hardly had I spent a month in New Delhi when, as a result of abundant evidence, I was able to confirm every word of the opinion expressed by those friends. It is absolutely necessary for two friendly countries to know each other in all respects to be able to determine their community of interest and appreciate mutualism, by which I mean the doctrine that mutual dependence is necessary to well-being, as no nation can reasonably claim to be self-sufficient in a world plagued with multifarious intricate problems. All developing nations have some part to play in the quest for world peace and international understanding.

Since my country, Nigeria, achieved independence in 1960, she has been making consistent efforts to ensure peace in Africa, in particular, and in the world at large. 1965 being the United Nations International Co-operation Year, an idea initiated by the late Prime Minister of India Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, I have chosen to speak on "Nigeria's Role in World Affairs". Another reason for the choice of this subject is that as we Nigerians do not make any noise about our performance, our foreign policy has at times been misrepresented as being pro a particular bloc. This is totally untrue and my talk this evening will primarily be devote

*Being the text of a speech delivered at a meeting held under the auspices of the Indian Council for Africa at the India International Centre, New Delhi, on March 25, 1965.

to demonstrate that we have always followed the path of truth in the implementation of our policy of objective non-alignment.

However, before proceeding with my topic, I feel I should say something about Nigeria with regard to the last Federal elections, which were widely covered by the Press of this great country, and which also caused some doubts about the unity of Nigeria. As you are aware, in any country with a federal set-up, there must exist certain problems arising from the complexity of its society. A federal government, such as ours in Nigeria, that adheres strictly to the rule of law and to all principles of democracy is always confronted with criticisms whether constructive or destructive since the citizens enjoy all fundamental rights which are firmly entrenched in our Constitution. Our press is also free. The maturity and the statesmanship of the leaders of such a country can be determined by the way they react to public opinion in times of crisis. Generally speaking, Nigerians are peace-loving. Hence, a foreign observer once described Nigeria as an island of peace surrounded by a turbulent ocean. Because of the pacific nature of the people, whenever there is a problem, we always unite the Gordian knot, we do not have to cut it.

It is pertinent to reiterate that in resolving the disagreement over the last general election results, the President and the Prime Minister not only reaffirmed their belief in the unity of the Federation where every citizen shall have equal opportunity, and no one shall be oppressed, and a strict observance of the constitution until it is amended according to law and the will of the people, but also agreed that the validity of the elections could be questioned only by due process of law as laid down in the Constitution and Statutes.

In his desire to preserve our cherished unity, the Prime Minister, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, though the Alliance to which he belongs, the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA), won the elections with an overwhelming majority, has formed a broad-based Government which at present includes two members of the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA). With the completion on the 18th of this month of the outstanding elections in the East and three constituencies in Lagos, it is expected that there will be a general reassignment of ministries and that more ministers will be brought in.

You will, no doubt, agree with me that by settling what I would call a constitutional crisis rather than a political impasse, Nigerian leaders have demonstrated their ability to resolve, peacefully and amicably, any difficult problem that may confront them, and have also reinforced world confidence in the country. May I also reassure you that our leaders are unreservedly dedicated to building a united country. Our unity is assured by our Constitution which states that the executive authority of the regional Government applies to the execution and maintenance of the constitution of the region in all matters with respect to which the legislature of the region has for the time being the power to make laws but shall be so exercised as not to impede or prejudice the executive authority of the Federation, or to endanger the continuance of the Federal Government. It is regrettable, however, that apparent differences between the various sections of Nigeria are over-emphasised rather than the important factors which bind them together. The confidence the world has in Nigeria's stability is clearly vindicated by foreign investments which have increas-

ingly been pouring into the country, year after year, since our independence.

Having so far assured you that the recent election issue has not, in any respect, affected Nigeria's unity and political stability, I should now direct my attention to the subject of my talk.

It is indeed true that the foreign policy of a nation is a reflection of its domestic policy. The pacific character of Nigeria, and the warmth of heart and friendly disposition of its people are reflected in our foreign policy and our general outlook on all international problems. In short, Nigeria's foreign policy is guided by the principles of :

- (i) Non-alignment ;
- (ii) Non-interference in the internal affairs of any other country ;
- (iii) Co-operation and friendliness with all countries which respect our sovereignty ;
- (iv) Peaceful co-existence ; and
- (v) Settlement of international disputes by constitutional means.

Recently, a top diplomat was talking about the motivations of foreign policy. He dissected the constituent parts into five elements : national security and independence, commercial and economic interests, ideology, public opinion expressing itself in emotion and moral sense, and capability. When one of his listeners asked why the element of enlightened self-interest was not listed as a specific item, his answer was, in effect, that this is an element which cuts across all others. I do not think anybody will dispute this fact.

Shortly before our independence, the Prime Minister, in enunciating our foreign policy declared : "In formulating its policy for the conduct of foreign affairs the Federal Government recognises that its primary duty is to safeguard and promote the interests of the Federation and of its citizens.

"We have already declared our intention of applying to join both the Commonwealth and the United Nations. In regard to the former it is important to understand that all members of the Commonwealth are autonomous communities equal in status in no way subordinate, one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs. While therefore benefiting greatly from the free inter-change of ideas and consultation between the members of the Commonwealth, and from their experience within the framework of the United Nations we shall nevertheless have a free hand to select those policies which we consider to be most advantageous for Nigeria, subject always to our belief in the principles of the United Nations. We shall, of course, endeavour to remain on friendly terms with every nation which recognises and respects our sovereignty, and we shall not blindly follow the lead of anyone. So far as is possible the policy for each occasion will be selected with a proper independent objectivity in Nigeria's national interests.

"We consider it wrong for the Federal Government to associate itself as a matter of routine with any of the power blocs. This freedom of action

will be an essential feature of our policy and will ensure that full attention is paid to the opinions expressed by our representatives. Our policies, as I have said before, will be founded on Nigeria's interests and will be consistent with the moral and democratic principles on which our constitution is based."

The view seems to be held in certain quarters that any country whose leaders do not repeat, as often as possible, the stock phrases about colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, capitalism, and other 'isms' in this category is not truly non-aligned. We believe in deeds and not in noise-making. We do not believe in playing the East against the West. We do not believe in saying one thing and doing another. We believe in facing realities with constructive proposals. We shall never allow sentiments to overshadow our sense of realism.

It is interesting to note that during the 1960 Session of the United Nations General Assembly, which was the first that a Nigerian delegation ever attended, in nine out of ten cases, our voting tallied with that of the East European countries. Among the questions considered at that time were colonialism, South Africa and its apartheid policy, and China. We voted against the moratorium motion on China introduced by the United States because it is our conviction that a nation having a population of about 650 million should, in normal circumstances, be given an opportunity to participate in the affairs of the World Organisation. We believe that with China in the United Nations, she will be in a position to contribute her efforts towards the elimination of international tension.

In pursuit of our policy of non-alignment, Nigeria has concluded a number of trade agreements with several East European countries, such as the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary and others, in order to expand our trade which, before independence, was exclusively with the Western world. To maintain and consolidate political independence, the attainment of economic independence is a "sine qua non". The prices of our exports have been steadily declining in the traditional markets, while prices of imports from the advanced countries continue to rise. Nigeria's losses in this way have far exceeded the aid she receives. Hence, we are now exploring new markets and also diversifying our export products by industrialisation. We also have diplomatic relations with all the aforementioned East European countries. In view of this, and bearing in mind that before 1960 we were almost completely cut off from these countries, it is difficult to understand the insinuation in some quarters that Nigeria tends to be pro-West in her international dealings.

Where disputes exist between nations, we maintain an attitude of non-involvement with friendly detachment, and urge the parties concerned to seek a peaceful settlement. Might of course does not make right. The trend of events in Vietnam in the past few months, in particular, must be causing all peace-loving peoples of the world some concern. The grave situation in the area should be arrested and peace and tranquillity restored. In consonance with our foreign policy, we are opposed to foreign interference from any quarter in Indo-China as a whole, and maintain that all the parties concerned should create an atmosphere conducive to a negotiated settlement rather than a military solution.

The greatest threat to mankind today is the possibility of a thermonuclear war through any careless or unnecessary pushing of the button. In this connection, Nigeria is against all nuclear tests as well as the manufacture of nuclear weapons; and, like India, strongly maintains that nuclear energy should be employed for peaceful purposes only. It will be recalled that Nigeria is one of the earliest signatories of the Moscow Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, and has been playing a significant role towards disarmament in co-operation with other non-aligned countries which, like Nigeria, are represented on the 18-nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva. As a practical step towards eliminating the threat to world peace, we maintain that the world powers should not only reduce their conventional weapons but should also put an end to the arms race and sign a general and complete disarmament agreement under effective international control.

At the United Nations, we are playing our part to bring about peace and amity in the world. Besides the 18-nation Disarmament Committee the various United Nations' bodies on which we are represented include the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development, the United Nations Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations; the Special Administrative and Budgetary Committee, etc. It is, however, regretted that the Afro-Asian countries have not been equitably represented in the principal organs of the United Nations, particularly, in the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the Governing Bodies of the United Nations Specialised Agencies. The imbalance in favour of a few big powers should be redressed to reflect the present composition of the Organisation.

Inasmuch as we are dedicated to world peace, we are convinced that all talk of peaceful co-existence will continue to be more or less unrealistic as long as glaring elements of racial discrimination prevail. All Africans are warm-hearted and accommodative to foreigners, but we cannot any longer tolerate any peoples arrogating racial superiority to themselves. Needless to say that eminent scientists have proved that such an idea or belief cannot be empirically supported. Indeed, whatever cultural or technological differences exist among the races of the world today are the accident of history and geography. It is unfortunate that in many countries of the world only derogatory films on Africa are still shown in order to perpetuate the lurid picture which had been created in the minds of people about Africa. It is not that we Africans are sensitive but we believe that what is sauce for the goose is also sauce for the gander. All meaningful authorities should not only desist from such practices but should condemn them.

In view of Nigeria's size and resources, we shall play our appropriate role in the African continent. The main principles governing Nigeria's policy in Africa are non-interference in the internal affairs of others, respect for the sovereignty of the member States of the Organisation of African Unity and friendliness with all of them. Thus we have since our independence adopted a policy of good neighbourliness towards other African States.

We are also committed to playing a constructive role in the quest for African unity. There are, however, two schools of thought as to the means of achieving African unity. Some are of the opinion that in order to attain unity, an immediate political fusion of different African States

should be undertaken, while others, including Nigeria, maintain that in view of our different cultural, political and educational backgrounds, in consequence of our developing under different metropolitan powers, African unity should start on the practical level. Nigeria, therefore, advocate, the realistic approach of starting off with cultural communication and economic links in order to eliminate the existing barriers. In this connection, in the statement on Nigeria's foreign policy, our Prime Minister said : "Very particular attention will be devoted to adopting clear and practical policies as regards Africa. It will be our aim to assist any African country to find a solution to its problems and to foster the growth of a common understanding among all nations, and especially among the new nations of this continent. We are determined to encourage the development of common ties between all States. The difficulties which will confront us in promoting the friendly association of independent countries in Africa are fully appreciated but we believe that they can be overcome if a start is made by emphasising and building upon the cultural and economic links which already exist". Continuing he said : "This will be followed by a policy of securing an agreed plan for the improvement of inter-territorial communications and transport facilities, and by the pooling of resources for higher education and scientific research. Although it would be premature at this stage to think in terms of a Common Market for Africa, we are intending to work towards the expansion of trade and travel, and to secure an agreed plan for the improvement of inter-territorial communications and the like.

"On the problem of boundaries our view is that although in the past some of these were created artificially by the European powers, which even went so far as to split some communities into three parts, each administered by a different Colonial Power, nevertheless those boundaries should be respected, and in the interests of peace, must remain the recognised boundaries until such time as the peoples concerned decide of their own free will to merge into one not by force or through undue pressure to change since such interference could only result in unrest and in harm to the overall plan for the future of this great continent".

In pursuit of this policy, the Nigerian Government has made a lump sum available annually for providing facilities in Nigeria for training of nationals of other African countries. Also under bilateral agreements, the services of Nigerian experts and professionals in the fields of medicine, law, hydrology, establishments and training, and internal security are being offered to certain African States. We have provided facilities in Nigerian institutions of higher learning for a growing number of students from other African countries. The Nigerian Government has also a scholarship scheme for deserving African Students.

Within the last two years, Nigeria has opened telephone links with Dahomey, Togo, Cameroun, Ivory Coast, Guinea, Congo (Leopoldville), Ethiopia and the East African countries of Tanzania, Kenya, Malawi and Zambia. Earlier telephone links had been established with Ghana and Sierra Leone. Recently, Nigeria amended her visa agreements in order to permit nationals of Ivory Coast, Morocco, and the Republics of Cameroun, Dahomey, Togo, Niger and Chad to enter Nigeria without visas for visits not exceeding three months. We are also actively participating in meetings for exploring the feasibility of harmonising industrial development projects of neighbouring States. We have set up a com-

mission with Niger, Chad, and Cameroun for the joint exploration of the resources of Lake Chad. We have, in conjunction with the other riparian powers drawn up a convention governing the uses of the waters of the River Niger. On the initiative of Nigeria, an African Railway Congress has been formed to systematise railway development towards the evolution of the unity of the continent. These are some of the practical steps Nigeria has taken in order to achieve African unity.

Furthermore Nigeria is taken all measures within her power to ensure the total liquidation of colonialism in Africa so that all Africans may enjoy the fruits of freedom and achieve full development of their resources for their own benefit. Nigeria is a member of the Organisation of African Unity Liberation Committee, and is second to none in giving practical assistance to nationalist forces in those parts of the continent still under foreign domination.

We condemn the racial policy of the Government of South Africa and the Portuguese colonial policy. Both are apartheid ; and we will continue to devote our efforts to securing democratic rights for Africans in Rhodesia, South Africa, South-West Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. We have banned all South African ships and aircraft from availing themselves of our port facilities or to over-fly our air space. This action was taken long before a resolution on this matter was adopted by the Organisation of African Unity.

It was as a result of the resolution introduced by Nigeria and supported by all Afro-Asian countries and East European countries that South Africa had to withdraw from the International Labour Organisation. Also in cooperation with the other Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth, South Africa was kicked out of the Commonwealth ; and we played an active role in expelling Portugal and South Africa from the Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa.

I would now like to reiterate Nigeria's stand on the Congo situation. In accordance with our foreign policy and the Article of the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity on non-interference in the internal affairs of members-states to which we strictly adhere, we object to any external interference in Congo. Nigeria recognises, on principle, the Democratic Republic of Congo as an independent sovereign State capable of conducting its own domestic and foreign affairs without external interference, and perfectly entitled to enjoy all the rights, privileges and attributes of being a member-State of the Organisation of African Unity. Nigeria's main concern in the Congo today is to play a constructive role in co-operation with the legally constituted authority, not with any personality, to ensure restoration of peace and stability in the country.

In this connection, I shall again quote a relevant portion from this Prime Minister's statement on our foreign policy : "It is true that Africa is changing every day. We rejoice to see so many countries becoming independent, but with the good developments there are bound to be some bad ones and we are troubled by the signs which we see of the ideological war between the great powers of the world creeping into Africa. We shall therefore take steps to persuade the African leaders to take serious note of this distressing trend and we shall make every effort to bring them together, so that having been made aware of the danger we may all find a way to

unite our efforts in preventing Africa from becoming an area of crisis and world tension.

"We shall not however allow direct and primary interest in African affairs to blind us to the grave and vital issue which darkens the wider international scene. In the United Nations and in any other way possible we shall direct our energies and influence to helping to reach solutions which will contribute to the peace of the nations and the well-being of mankind."

Nigeria as a member of the Ad Hoc Commission on the Congo has always firmly maintained that a political solution cannot be achieved in the Congo while some countries continue to aid and abet a rebellion against the lawful Government of the Congo. The Congo should be, therefore, insulated from external interference to allow the Congolese themselves to seek a political solution to their problems with the aid of the Organisation of African Unity which should do its best to reconcile the different political factions. Nigeria will continue making consistent efforts to ensure that in her approach to the Congo issue, basic principles, responsibilities, and obligations of the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations Charter are meticulously observed, particularly, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, sovereign equality and non-interference in the domestic affairs of all nations.

Whatever certainties or uncertainties may be contained in the sum total of our philosophy of life, one thing is certain, that is, there is an end to all mundane things. The longest road has a turning, the longest journey has an end, however pleasant a meeting may be however interesting the subject which has produced such a concourse of people, there will come a time when all present will disperse, and then cometh the end.

We are confident that the situation in the so-called colonial territories cannot remain static. Majority rule will eventually emerge. We are also optimistic that, with the insulation of the Congo problem from external interference, and with goodwill on all sides, a reasonable compromise solution will be found and the end will one day come to the chaos into which that country has been plunged since its independence.

At this juncture, I wish to express my sincere views on the Indo-Nigerian friendly relationship which since our independence has steadily been growing from strength to strength. I have felt quite at home here since my arrival not only because of the strong cordial relations existing between our two countries but also because of our respect for each other's institutions, our identity of views on world peace and security and international understanding; and the similarity of our constitutions. Besides, we work in close cooperation in the Afro-Asian group, and draw similar experiences from our membership of the Commonwealth. The relationship between our two countries is more and more being marked by collaboration in various fields, and it is my desire that our cordial relations should be further strengthened.

Finally, I should like to state in a nutshell that our foreign policy is underlined by our desire to do everything in our power to foster co-operation among the countries of Africa, and in so far as is compatible

with the national interest, with our membership of the Organisation of African Unity, also with our membership of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations, to maintain cordial relations with all other nations of the world, firmly opposing all forms of aggression, and striving always to obtain the observance everywhere of those human rights which all parties in Nigeria have agreed upon as fundamental, in particular, freedom from racial or religious discrimination.

Once again, I say no thanks of mine can adequately demonstrate how profoundly grateful I am to the Indian Council for Africa for giving me the opportunity to speak to this august assembly on the foreign policy of my country. Thank you.

The Process of Nation-building

by T. L. V. BLAIR

SCIENTIFIC progress and national liberation are two of the most decisive movements of our time. The progress of science and technology has changed the course of man's life and the attainment of independence by African and Asian states has altered the structure and shape of the international family.

Political independence creates a surging desire for its corollaries—intellectual, cultural and economic autonomy—and creates new possibilities for social progress. The “promise of tomorrow” welds society in Africa into a close and intimate embrace. Political leaders engaged in the process of nation-building are faced with new responsibilities: the resolution of hunger, illiteracy and disease and the acceleration of progress through the improvement of national resources. And their eyes fall upon contemporary scientific achievements and their potentialities for the transformation of society.

Many nations have already sensed the blinding possibilities of the peaceful uses of the atom, the de-salinization of water and fructification of deserts; but, “where does one begin?” Each nation, no matter how small, can begin with a survey of physical, demographic and cultural resources. It can ask such questions as: What are the ways in which we can adapt a known scientific process to our concrete problems?

Agricultural progress is the main target of most African nations; they seek to enrich the “good earth”, per crop, per unit and per man output, and are experimenting with plans for the decentralization of industry and village improvements. At present, one African farm family can only produce enough to feed half of another family, and their staple products—bananas, maize, yams and cassava—are not adequate to meet the needs of burgeoning urban populations. In many industrializing areas the rapid growth of population in relation to food resources heralds a race against disaster.

New possibilities emerge when hitherto un-explored resources are discovered and utilised. Coastal African states might follow Japan's example with the cultivation of marine algae for food and as a “green manure” for crops. New industries can grow with the utilization of the little known but abundant tropical woods, whose short fibres are ideal for paper-making. Tree farming and the collection of wild plants, such as papyrus in Uganda, esparto and eucalyptus in Algeria and North Africa, offer untapped possibilities.

Solar operated power stations can produce new sources of energy in Africa ; the sun is abundant, there are large open spaces for solar collection and low energy requirements. Solar energy can be used to grow food, dry crops, heat homes, evaporate salt from water, concentrate natural juices, ripen plants, cook food, air-condition homes, refrigerate food, make ice, de-humidify the air, distil or heat water and create power.

Public health technicians armed with new knowledge of the epidemiology of trypanosomiasis, malaria, schistosomiasis and trachoma can free Africa from disease. Huge tracts of land are in fief to the tsetse fly—the sentry of Africa—whose bite cripples untold numbers of Africans and bars abundant meat and dairy products from five million square miles in the heart of the continent.

Planning follows the assessment of resources and the possibilities of scientific technology. Planning provides a way of organising a programme within the broad national and international context, of measuring its progress and preparing for the utilization of the resulting productive benefits. Increasingly in Africa, planning is a way of organising and mobilising resources and techniques to express a social view, an emergent collective personality, aspiration and élan vital. It involves critical choices of far-reaching implications. Should economic planning, as the West Indian economist W. A. Lewis asks, begin with the farmer, to liberate him from the tripple problems of land tenure, debt and credit or should it begin with capital investment in industrialisation ?—or, with a little of both at the same time ?

The formation of an organized framework of social policy and administration enables the application of scientific technology to African society. The fruits of science blossom in the shade of a coherent plan of development ; social policy and decision-making are the instruments which create, nurture and harvest them. Though experts may agree on the existence of a body of usable knowledge, they may differ on how to implement this knowledge, within specific types of African political economics. Hence the burden is on political leaders to evaluate the implications of proposals arrived at in the laboratory of science. And, in the wider context, it is the political leader who takes the giant step across the wastelands of separation to join his people and their neighbours in a dialogue of progress for continental reconstruction.

In the final analysis, therefore, development and the role of science within African society rest on informed social policy. For, after all, what motivates the first steps toward development and who decides when the experts disagree ?

Thus, administrators, leaders, scientists, technicians and the people themselves, in Africa and the world, are drawn into a skein of human progress. Needs, responsibilities, enquiry, cooperation, action and resolution intersect and march boldly across the changing face of Africa, leaving in their wake the fruits of national liberation, the social transformation of society.

An integral part of the process of nation-building is community development. Nation-building requires the utilisation of all material resources and the mobilisation and participation of all segments of the

nation. Cities and capitals with their apparatus of administration, technology and skilled manpower are therefore focal points for the interchange of information and specialised knowledge. In the past few years many communities and nations in Africa have encouraged specialists in economic development, linguistics, education and social welfare to come and assemble in Africa and share their ideas with governmental authorities. What are these specialists saying and doing and what significance does their activity have for community and nation-building in Africa ?

The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa has its headquarters at Addis Ababa and regional agencies at Niamey, Niger, and Tangier, Morocco. It is financed directly from the U.N. budget. ECA publishes regularly the Economic Bulletin for Africa, the Agricultural Economics Bulletin for Africa, the Statistical Newsletter and the Foreign Trade Newsletters. Four important ECA reports are the Report on the Economic and Social Consequences of Racial Discrimination, the Economic Survey of Africa, the Survey of Africa since 1950 and the Industrial Growth in Africa.

ECA has held a number of conferences. Over the years these conferences have included specialists and representatives from 32 African states discussing such topics as public administration, housing, town planning and urbanisation, industrial resources and development, transport and communications, agriculture and commodities, and community development.

One of the most far-reaching acts of ECA is the establishment of an Institute of Development and Planning at Dakar "to produce African planners with a knowledge of African problems". The institute conducts seminars, a two-year course for students at the graduate level, including mathematics, statistics, accounting and planning techniques, and a nine-month course for civil servants. Intensive language training is also provided so that students will become "a bilingual elite capable of contributing, immediately on return to their countries, to planning activities, as well as associating themselves with development policies directed towards the economic independence of the continent." Other activities of the institute include sponsorship of a 12-week course in education and manpower in Cairo. The total programme will cost \$4,900,000 of which \$3,400,000 is to be contributed by the UN with the remainder contributed by African states.

Building a unified community out of a multiplicity of cultural and language groups is a problem which faces both localities and nations. In every community there are sizable segments of the working population who must learn another language to earn their daily bread, enter and rise within the modern sector of the economy and educate their children for responsibility and participation in national life.

How does the government of a multi-lingual African state choose a national language ? The solutions vary : Tanganyika chose Swahili as the national language and in Nigeria English is the official language, though in the northern region, the spread of Hausa is encouraged by the local authorities. Compromises are often made in mass communication ; in most states radio and television broadcasting is conducted in 3 or 5 languages in order to reach all segments of the population.

What is the future role of European languages in independent African nations? The English, French and Portuguese languages pose a paradoxical problem of choice. They are cords that bind Africa with world culture and yet ever-present reminders of its earlier dependence on a European state. The utility of African languages in science and the arts should be explored further. Recent experiments in French West Africa tend to support the view that no language is intrinsically better than another for the communication of knowledge. African languages, most prominent among which are Arabic and Amharic, have been used to teach the most modern concepts in physics, geometry and chemistry. And, more and more professors of African literature are urging their students to learn African languages for the dual purpose of communicating new ideas orally and recording the peoples' hopes and aspirations.

The greater utility of major African languages for communicating contemporary external ideas is handicapped by the lack of linguistic scholars, orthographies, dictionaries, grammars and texts. Until these are produced and widely diffused European languages will continue to function as the official or national languages of African states.

Universities, like many other institutions, grow up within an urban framework, and therefore justify our consideration here. Many educators have called for a thorough overhaul of the structure of higher education, particularly in regard to curriculum, ratio of African instructors to Europeans, salaries and orientation to the community. The increased cooperation between universities in French and English-speaking African states has been favourably discussed.

Unemployed youth, especially the early school leavers are and will continue to be a symptom of Africa's social and economic problems. As the development of primary education advances, with little expansion on the upper levels, there is no room for the majority of primary school students in higher education. These young people tend to turn away from farming communities and small villages and migrate to the cities to compete for wage jobs. Each passing year the number of school leavers increases and the pool of urban unemployed grows.

Who are the unemployed school leavers and what are their skills and aspirations? What is the pattern of rural-urban migration? How can future economic plans take into account the creation of ever-expanding employment possibilities for unemployed youth? What can be done to create facilities for youth training, continuing education and instruction for rural youth in modern farming methods?

These then are some of the momentous problems facing modern Africa. They are increasingly being subjected to rigorous scrutiny by African and world specialists. More work needs to be done and from many theoretical and ideological points of view. And it is necessary for more of the ordinary citizens to be drawn into participation in the decision-making process. The solution of many of these problems on the local community level cannot but contribute to healthy, viable and economically secure nation states.

Industrial Relations in a Developing Economy

by B. N. DATAR

THE process of development has to be construed in a proper perspective which takes into account the past developments and current trends and also aims at evolving a realistic approach towards the formulation of an effective industrial and labour policy. It is imperative that there should be a close relationship between economic development and social justice in a society. In the context of the Indian situation the policy and programmes of economic development have to be considered keeping in view the vast manpower resources available in the country. It is anticipated that about 70 million people will be needing employment during the coming 15 years. And if a shift from agricultural to industrial vocations is desired, proper employment planning will have to be undertaken.

Usually industrial relations or labour policy are confined to the category of industrial workers working within the framework of the employer-employee relationship. It would be desirable to include within this category the self-employed sector of work people for whom an effective policy and programme have to be worked out.

The trend in industrial development has recently shifted to the development of industries that require relatively more skilled workers. On the one hand, therefore, industrial development will have to be manpower oriented and, on the other, the industrial work-force will have to assimilate certain characteristics that will progressively suit the changed trend of industrial advancement. The endeavour should be to embark upon a programme of industrial development which is motivated with the objective of attaining self-reliance in industrial advancement. This will mean more emphasis being placed on basic and key industries.

The trade unions will have to be increasingly "development-minded". In a developing economy certain constraints are inevitable and sacrifices almost inherent. The trade unions will have to develop a positive attitude towards these limitations and will have to guide the workers' cause with purposive discretion. A big organizational job awaits the trade unions. About 30 million people will have to be organised during the next ten years¹.

1. This article is written on the basis of the proceedings of the Seminar on Industrial Relations in a Developing Economy organised in New Delhi from Feb. 27 to March 3, 1965, by the Shri Ram Centre for Industrial Relations.

Having a wage policy is somewhat conflicting in the prevalence of freedom of action for the parties concerned and the various means and mechanisms provided to them for evolving their own course of action. At any rate, a wage policy imposed by the State will not serve a fruitful purpose.

There is a strong controversy about the role that the Government plays or should play in the domain of industrial relations. But in the Indian context, the Government should not be considered as a sole or independent entity influencing the policy relating to industrial relations. The Government's role should thus be seen in a proper perspective of democracy.

Labour policy in India is the product of a system of tripartite consultations, with the Indian Labour Conference at its apex. While there is scope for improving the process of decision-making and the enforcement of these decisions, the manner in which the tripartite system has worked so far has many elements to commend for its continuance and its more effective working. There have been certain areas where decisions taken at tripartite conferences could not be processed, in particular, the decision on the need-based minimum, but in relation to the very large areas where the tripartite has been effective, the areas where one party or the other could not strictly conform to tripartite decisions have been relatively few. The recent change in arrangements by which discussion on important problems are arranged in two stages permitting the parties to refer the tentative conclusions to their constituents and report back to the tripartite for final recommendation will make the tripartite decisions more meaningful and acceptable. The Government's decision in constituting a labour panel for framing recommendations on labour policies and programmes to be included in the fourth plan is in the right direction.

Some people have expressed the view that labour legislation, settlement of disputes through wage boards and through recommendations of commissions like the Bonus Commission should normally not create attitudes of dependency among parties to a dispute. However, the same thing cannot be said when disputes are settled through an industrial tribunal. Even in the latter case it has been argued that since adjudication is a product of legislation which is accepted by the tripartite, the full rigours of dependency should not be felt. Another view expressed is that the current policy, which aims at greater emphasis on voluntary action by the parties, may help reduce the element of dependency in settlement of disputes through tribunals. The general feeling, however, is that a small measure of dependency is not inconsistent with the goals which have been accepted as part of the welfare state.

Has public policy on labour relations helped in creating a privileged class of workers in organised industries? The Indian experience so far has not been sufficient to come to a definite conclusion as to whether industrial workers in the organised sector have gone far out of step compared to the rest of the community. The conclusions of the Income Distribution Committee show that in spite of the advantages secured by industrial workers so far in terms of real standards, they have just managed to keep in step with the rest of the community. It has been argued by some people that since industrial workers are a small section of the population, to protect them and to leave other sections unprotected would

mean giving them a privileged position. Against this argument it has been stated that organised sectors of production happen to be the points of growth in a developing economy. If as a matter of policy such growth points are developed, it is possible for them to carry the rest of the sectors with them. Experience in other countries shows that with the march of the organised sector, other sectors cannot and do not remain static. It is possible however that when one talks in terms of privileges given to industrial workers who form a small section of the community, and these privileges appear somewhat more favourable than compared to those enjoyed by the rest of the community, the essential situation of the Indian economy gets ignored. However, even if there is something to be said about industrial workers as a privileged class, the setting up of the Department of Social Security, which intends to take up measures for the social security of the population as a whole, is likely to take the edge off the arguments about the privileged class.

Has the Indian labour relations system helped direct resources into consumption that should have gone into investment? Sufficient information is not available to come to a definite conclusion about the resources which have gone into consumption against resources for investment. In a way, consumption in the working class when the economy depends more on production within the country itself may lead to investment also. In considering this question, the consumption pattern of industrial workers requires to be carefully scrutinized as also the consumption pattern of other classes. In any case if the premise that the organised working class forms a comparatively small section of the whole community is accepted the effect of consumption in this class as compared to total consumption in the economy may not be such as would fan inflation. Some people are of the view that plan priorities should be reviewed to ensure a better supply of consumption goods.

As regards the way labour demands should be secured taking into account the effect such demands will make on the economy the present method of settlement of disputes through wage boards has been unanimously accepted. However, it is felt that wage boards should give sufficient attention to problems of productivity and wage differentials.

Should labour legislation be a central subject with a view to achieving uniformity in legislation and implementation? While it is recognised that in a vast country like India there can be room for different labour relations systems in different regions and attempts at uniformity may not be possible or desirable, there are difficulties that can arise as a result of non-conformity. However, any attempt to curtail the constitutional privileges given to States is not likely to be looked on with favour in the present situation.

Beyond bringing in uniformity through conferences between the Central and State Labour Ministers and regular contact between them, nothing can and should be attempted.

Some people feel that the current system by which recognition is given to trade unions on the basis of verification by the Government encouraged favouritism. Opinion is divided even within trade union circles on the question of secret ballot. One section favours the current system and feels that sufficient trial has not been given to it to establish its usefulness. As against this point is the question of representation for

workers who are not members of a trade union. The general opinion appears to be in favour of a secret ballot though the administrative and political difficulties attendant upon the use of this method require examination. A variation of secret ballot by bringing in all unions proportionately to their memberships, as is being tried in some of the western countries, has been mentioned as another way of giving adequate representation to labour in settlement of disputes with management.

Should the Government continue to promote workers' participation in management? It has been pointed out that part of the resistance to the scheme of workers' participation in management may have been due to the title under which the scheme was known to the public. In spite of the effort made by the Government from the start of the experiment to call it by names like "Joint Management Councils" or "Labour-management Cooperation", misgivings on the part of management still continue. Sufficient enthusiasm for the experiment is not evinced by trade unions either. In framing policy for the fourth Plan, this aspect should receive due consideration. There is nothing wrong in the principle of joint consultation at the plant level. Such consultation is to be encouraged.

There is unanimity of opinion that the workers' education programme requires strengthening for various reasons. Already an element of *esprit d'corps* has been established among workers who have gone through this course; many of them are cutting across federation barriers. This spirit requires encouragement in order to have a more healthy development in the trade union movement.

The general feeling is that there should be no difference in the application of labour legislation and voluntary frame-work for labour relations as between the private and public sectors. Though the entry of the public sector in the field has been more recent, the urgency of improving labour relations should receive continuous attention at the hands of the Government. In terms of working and living conditions the record of the public sector has been encouraging and a few units have shown foresight in anticipating workers' demands. However, by and large the problem of labour relations in the public sector required constant attention with frequent examination, particularly in the context of greater responsibilities which the public sector will be assuming in the future plans.

In any relationship in which labour and management have come together in production, it is possible that conflicts will arise. A labour relations policy which will minimize these conflicts will obviously have to be worked out. Though industrial conflict—strikes/lock-outs can be costly in a planned economy, it may not be possible to rule them out altogether. In fact, certain stoppages could be tolerated by the community to bring the parties to a better frame of mind. Such stoppages may disrupt production temporarily but in the long run they could produce useful results both for the parties themselves and for others who are likely to learn from such stoppages.

It is generally recognised that categorical answers about how the operation of a particular Government policy has affected industrial conflict may not be possible. Nor is it possible to say how costly such conflicts can be. However, the current system of the Government's intervention in the settlement of labour disputes has worked to some advantage

to the economy. There are certain areas of operation where improvement was possible, *i.e.*, in the attitude of certain State Governments towards particular trade union federations.

For minimizing the conflict there has to be a recognition by all concerned of the goals set before the economy. Again, within these goals there must be an acceptance by society of a fair wage to workers, recognition of workers' personality, recognition of workers' right to organise, recognition of unions, joint consultation with workers and the like. These will make for minimizing industrial conflict. In recent years because of the regulation of service conditions through legislation like Standing Orders, social security, retrenchment benefits, bonus and the like, there has been a reduction in the areas of conflict. Even so security of service, discharges, dismissals, etc., are emerging as new points on which conflicts arise.

In discharging the machinery for settlement of disputes some attention should be devoted to the prevention of disputes before they take a formal shape. In this connection, works committees, informal discussions between workers and management and in general the creation of an atmosphere in which differences of opinion could be examined, have a vital role to play. Collective bargaining should be the first step in the settlement of a formal dispute. It is only where these preliminary efforts do not yield results that recourse should be had to the statutory machinery for the settlement of disputes.

The effectiveness of the conciliation machinery could be enhanced by (a) a suitable choice of conciliation officers, (b) adequate training for them before they take up their work and (c) providing them in-service training from time to time.

Though no two industrial conflict situations could be alike, some norms for the settlement of disputes could be drawn up, preferably by a tripartite committee, for guidance of the industrial disputes settlement machinery—conciliation officers, industrial tribunals, arbitrators. Since the conciliation officer is expected to persuade the parties to come together, on a voluntary basis, to think in terms of enhancing his powers would be inappropriate. However, where a party refuses even to attend conciliation proceedings the conciliation officer should conclude the deliberations. In such cases it is possible that in taking further action on the report of the conciliation officer, the Government may draw adverse inference because of the non-attendance of a party to the dispute.

Conciliation is essentially a process of persuasion and education and a process where areas of agreement are to be explored. To empower conciliators with the functions of an arbitrator is likely to reduce the effectiveness of conciliation officers. In the process, the purpose of either, conciliation or arbitration, is defeated. In disputes where interpretation of obligations between the parties is involved (justiciable disputes) the conciliation officer's intervention as an arbitrator may not be harmful. But where it is a matter of the creation of new rights and a conciliator has tried to settle the differences between the parties, he himself should not be allowed to arbitrate. In such cases an officer higher than the conciliation officer may be chosen to arbitrate, if the parties agree,

Some people have expressed the view that reference to adjudication in cases where conciliation has failed should be mandatory. The Government should not have the power to withhold adjudication in such cases nor should it have the power to frame the terms of reference for adjudication. When a dispute is raised the parties to the dispute may like to have in settlement a "package deal". Selection of some items for reference to adjudication and deletion of others by the Government may vitiate against the possibility of securing such a deal. Others have complained about the practice followed by the Government in reusing adjudication of disputes raised by certain trade union federations. While Government representatives have pointed out that such discrimination is not there, a section of the trade union opinion does not have complete satisfaction on this ground. It has been pointed out that in many cases both the employer and trade union organizations take time either to prepare their cases or talk over matters of dispute between themselves with a view to reach a settlement. The time taken in this process should not be counted towards assessing delays by a formal industrial relations machinery. But even after making allowance for such cases, there is a case for expediting decisions in labour disputes. In this connection the following suggestions have been made : (a) The appointment of retired personnel to industrial tribunals should be avoided ; (b) Issues should be properly framed ; (c) Adequate help should be given to industrial tribunals on matters under dispute through the formulation of "norms" accepted by the tripartite ; (d) Parties (particularly workers) should be helped in preparing their cases. Delays occur not only at the level of industrial tribunals but also in the higher seats of justice. It is indeed these delays that are more important than the delays in tribunals.

There has been an increasing tendency among the parties to agree to voluntary arbitration. At the same time, it is realized that a wider acceptance of the principle of voluntary arbitration will depend on a wider practice of the method itself. There is general agreement on the need for voluntary arbitration, where direct negotiations do to succeed. It has been emphasized that its voluntary aspect should be nursed. In this context, the efforts made by the newly-founded Indian Academy of Labour Arbitrators to popularize voluntary arbitration require tripartite support from persons interested in labour arbitration but who are outside the tripartite arrangements.

DOCUMENTATION

The 7th session of ECA

The 7th session of the Economic Commission for Africa provided a new working structure for the organisation, involving the creation of Working Parties to deal with all the subjects in the ECA Programme. In the words of the chairman of the conference, Mr. Tom Mboya, the ECA was making a transition from surveys and studies to action-oriented programmes. Mr. S. Than, Indian observer at the conference, underlined this country's developing relations with the ECA and the increasing role it is playing in the industrialization of African countries by setting up a number of joint ventures. Editor.

THE United Nations Economic Commission for Africa held its 7th annual session in Nairobi from Feb. 9 to 23, 1965. The most significant decision taken at the conference provides for a change in the ECA's strategy of operation. The ECA will set up working parties which will function as a mechanism for concentrating, at a time, on specific concrete issues, rather than broad questions or fields. They will work on a method of involving the Governments, through participants chosen by them, in the execution of specific programmes, and on a process of building from below by evolving national solutions (or agreements on solutions) out of agreements achieved at sub-regional levels.

Seven working groups, each composed of ten experts from member-governments will deal with intra-African trade, including customs problems; monetary managements and international payments; industry and natural resources; transport and telecommunications; agriculture; economic integration, manpower and training. They will replace former ECA standing committees and mark a departure from previous policy inasmuch as they will be composed of individuals serving as African experts and not as representatives of their respective Governments.

The resolution passed by the 6th session establishing sub-regions was strengthened. Sub-regional offices will work as a mechanism for (1) consideration of problems near the grass-roots, (2) promoting economic integration at sub-regional level of a basis for integration at continental level.

The conference laid increased emphasis on the eradication of illiteracy, training and public administration.

The conference decided on building up cooperation between the ECA and the OAU based upon a recognition of interaction of political and econo-

mic forces. By a unanimous vote, the ECA called on the Executive Secretary to make arrangements with the OAU Secretariat in defining in a precise manner the framework of cooperation between the two organizations.

The Commission decided henceforth to hold sessions every two years instead of annually and accepted the Nigerian invitation to hold the 8th session, in 1967, in Lagos.

In a series of recommendations¹ adopted during the session, the ECA, among other things,

- called for the inclusion of manpower in the economic and social development plans of members states, and the establishment of permanent machinery, within the Central Governments, to co-ordinate the policy on training, both within and outside Africa in relation to the national needs;

- asked that the ECA secretariat assist the Governments to establish machinery to assess current and future manpower requirements and also to act as a clearing house on information regarding training facilities inside and outside Africa;

- requested the Executive Secretary to compile a list of African economic, social and technical experts who would be available for assignment to African countries and to give priority to such experts when they were available for technical missions in Africa;

- approved the initiatives by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization on the eradication of illiteracy, and called for similar action in Africa;

- welcomed the existing inter-African co-operation in improving the standards of public administration;

- called on the ECA secretariat to intensify studies on the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development and to work closely with the Ad Hoc Committee of Fourteen, set up by the OAU, to follow up the UNCTAD recommendations;

- asked that the question of an African Payments Union and a clearing system be re-submitted to competent African authorities in order to permit the establishment of such a union and system;

- called for continued co-operation between the ECA and the African Development Bank;

- called for study of the possibilities of a sub-regional or a regional common market in agricultural products and of the establishment of an agricultural economics institute in Africa; and a comprehensive study of imports and exports of food products in Africa, and the profitability of meat production, dairy products, cereals, rice, sugar and cotton. The study will also cover food processing and canning industries and sea and river fisheries;

- recommended the early establishment of inter-governmental machinery to harmonize economic and social development at the sub-regional level;

- requested a complete inventory of African natural resources;
- welcomed a proposed symposium on industrial legislation and incentives through the ECA sub-regional offices;
- urged the African countries to give priority to telecommunications plans;
- called for the early completion of preliminary studies on African transport links and requested Governments to submit a joint request for Special Fund assistance for a feasibility study of this project;
- welcomed the proposed Tanzania—Zambia railway link;
- recommended the conversion of the Statistical Training Centre in Yaounde, Cameroon, into an African Statistical Institute.

In his statement at the concluding session of the conference Mr. Tom Mboya, Kenya Minister for Economic Planning, who presided, said it was fitting that while discussing their economic future and laying the foundation of a new Africa, they must affirm their commitment to the total liberation of Africa. There could be no success in their efforts to establish an African economy while parts of Africa were occupied by aggressive forces. These people had been denied the right to join others in the task of economic reconstruction.

Mr. Mboya referred to the absence of South Africa from the conference because of its inhuman policy of apartheid. South Africa must be forced to be freed from itself. Pious hopes were not enough. There was need to act on the resolutions calling for economic sanctions against South Africa and other measures.

Mr. Mboya said the pace of economic development depended on the people of Africa themselves. There were the U.N., its agencies and other friends, but the help of friends from abroad must be based on genuine African plans.

He said the ECA was making a transition from surveys, studies and reports to action-oriented programmes. There was need to intensify intra-African trade and we should begin to look for technicians and advisers among our own countries.

During a discussion on agriculture on Feb 11, Kenya appealed to the delegates to help the ECA formulate agricultural programmes for the next few years. It laid stress on production of suitable products and avoidance of competition. It sought ECA help in market research overseas and advice on future exports and incentives for peasant farmers.

The spokesman of the International Civil Aviation Organization outlined a plan in co-operation with the ECA to meet the needs of African transport. The plan visualized cooperation among airlines leading to the establishment of sub-regional airlines, expansion of training facilities in Africa, better techniques for handling passengers and freight at borders and expansion of tourism.

Addressing the conference, the U.K. delegate said over half of the increase in British foreign aid had been earmarked for African countries. Britain had raised its contribution to the U.N. Technical Assistance Fund by 7½ per cent.

The International Monetary Fund spokesman mentioned the fact that with Kenya's membership of the Fund in 1964, the number of African members had risen to 34.

Most delegates expressed their satisfaction with the establishment of the African Development Bank, the Institute of Development and Planning and the progress achieved in regional integration.

On Feb. 12, the delegates considered practical steps to speed up economic co-operation in Africa, leading to the realization of an African common market. Nigeria suggested that a beginning be made with the creation of sub-regional common market institutions. It also suggested the establishment of monetary councils of member-states leading to an African monetary union within three years and an African monetary clearing system by 1966.

Tunisia pleaded that the UN be asked to set up a permanent organization to oversee international trade relations.

UAR, now at the beginning of its second 5-year-plan, offered to help African countries by sending teaching personnel.

On Feb. 14, Ethiopia pleaded for channelling aid through an organization like the African Development Bank.

The conference held on Feb. 17 a discussion on the report of activities of the African Institute for Economic Development and Planning at Dakar. Uganda pleaded for staff recruitment not only from the West but also from socialist countries. Sudan urged an inquiry into the reason for shortage of candidates at the institute. It suggested that the length of the courses be increased.

There was a commotion at the conference on Feb. 15 when the leader of the Uganda delegation, Mr. John Kakonge, sought permission to speak on the bombing of his country by Congolese planes. He was denied the floor. He said it was ridiculous to find integration steps when one country, with the help of imperialist powers, decided to attack its neighbour. This led to a walk-out on Feb. 16 by the Congo and the U.S. delegates. The Chairman, Mr. Mboya, had allowed the Uganda delegate to make a statement. Mr. Kakonge said the bombing incident was a threat to every independent country of Africa. Congo objected to the intrusion of politics into the meeting.

Indian observer's speech

Addressing the delegates, Mr. S. Than, Indian observer at the conference, said it was heartening to see resurgent and free Africa today geared to the difficult task of achieving economic freedom and regeneration with earnest desire, will and determination.

India's interest in the rapid progress of African countries had always been deep and sincere, he added. "We have watched with admiration the courageous struggle that you have relentlessly carried on for several years for achieving your precious freedom. As one country after another freed itself from foreign rule in recent years we felt proud and delighted. And we are watching with equally great concern and admiration the unparalleled freedom fight that is going on in parts of Africa where colonial rule is still having a foothold and is fighting its last chance. We are confident that before long these courageous sons and daughters of Africa will be able to taste the fruits of their victory in their freedom fight.

"The historic Second Non-aligned Nations' Conference held in October last year called upon participating countries to concert measures to bring about closer economic relations among the developing countries on a basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual assistance. In this context I should like to reiterate that we shall be willing to march in step with the African people in the great task of achieving economic advancement.

"We had the privilege of participating in the previous sessions of this Commission. Since last year, Mr. Chairman, our contacts with the Economic Commission for Africa have become closer and deeper. We were very glad that the distinguished Executive Secretary of the ECA accepted our invitation to visit our country. We were also happy that he brought with him a team of able experts. During this short visit they had opportunities to exchange ideas with our Ministers, officials and many specialised institutions. The gist of these discussions has been embodied in a comprehensive document which has also been circulated by the Commission to all of you. This document will show the fields in which the Government of India, in accordance with its objectives of sharing its experience, knowledge and resources with developing countries, is prepared to assist friendly African countries in their great developmental programmes. We were happy to know that the Executive Secretary of the ECA returned from India convinced of the desire and determination of the Indian people to cooperate with you and of the ability of India to do this effectively in several fields.

"We are aware of the burning desire of the people and Governments of Africa to march forward from political freedom to economic self-reliance. It is only natural that the developing countries of Africa and Asia should now concentrate on economic freedom as without this we will not be the master of our household. We are also conscious of the difficulties in the way of realising economic freedom. Your efforts to broad-base your economics and launch your countries rapidly on the road to industrialisation are steps in the right direction. The ECA has tackled this problem so far both on a regional and on a national basis in an organised manner.

"Over the last several years India has acquired a considerable measure of knowledge and experience in the industrialisation of a developing economy. We are happy to share this knowledge and experience with the people of Africa. Having learnt the lessons the hard way, we are confident we would be able to help you to avoid the mistakes we had committed and to benefit from our past. You will be glad to hear that the response from India to the industrial development programmes of African countries has been encouraging. The Federation of Indian

Chambers of Commerce and Industry took the initiative and sent an industrialists' goodwill delegation to certain African countries². We are grateful to the individual Governments concerned for the excellent reception that this delegation had in the countries it visited. The delegation's report has already evoked considerable interest among Indian industrialists who are coming forward now to place at your disposal their knowledge and experience gained in our country.

"You would perhaps expect me to tell you how far the goodwill and interest existing between our countries has taken a practical form. Speaking about the field of industry only, you will be glad to hear that already a dozen industrial projects are taking concrete shape³.

"It is only appropriate that the initial effort from India to participate in your industrialisation programme should start in the ancient country of Ethiopia, the headquarters of this active body, the Economic Commission for Africa. With the gracious blessings of His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia, the first India-Africa joint venture, i.e., the Indo-Ethiopian Textile Mills, was started a few years ago. Since then joint ventures with Indian collaboration have been approved by the Governments of Libya, Nigeria, Uganda and Zambia. It gives me particular pleasure to be able to say that not far from this beautiful city of Nairobi, a textile institute for training men and women in the operation of complex machinery as well as a modern textile plant are coming up with Indian collaboration. The type of industries that are being set up with Indian collaboration in the other countries mentioned by me include engineering works for the production of refrigerators, air conditioners, water coolers, fans, steel furniture, agricultural implements, bus bodies and trucks. Other projects include factories for production of cotton textiles, sugar, enamel manufactures, concrete pipes, razor blades, pencils and soap, as well as oil mills and palm kernel crushing units. In the fields of transport India has reached an agreement with the UAR for running a joint shipping service between the two countries. We sincerely expect that many more such enterprises covering a wider field over a larger number of countries in Africa will soon take shape.

"I would also like to mention briefly about a non-official organisation that has recently started functioning in India under the name of the India-Africa Development Association. This body, composed of top Indian industrialists, has addressed itself to the important function of assisting in its own way in the building up of a technical cadre from among your men. No amount of emphasis on the imperative need to build up a national technical cadre of your own will be superfluous. A competent technical cadre is indeed the backbone of a successful industrial economy. The building up of such a cadre is even more difficult than the setting up of modern industries. You can start an industry with foreign technical personnel but the process is not complete until your own men can man the huge plants and factories. As practical men in industry who know the importance of this invaluable and indispensable corps of technical personnel for the success of national economy, our industrialists, with the encouragement of the Government of India, have undertaken to offer scholarships to African youth for getting practical in-plant training in

2 See Africa Quarterly, Vol. IV, No p. 198

3. See attached table.

STATEMENT GIVING DETAILS OF JOINT PROJECTS IN AFRICA WITH INDIAN COLLABORATION

A. Proposals already approved

<i>Indian Party Interested</i>	<i>Country of collaboration</i>	<i>Field of collaboration</i>	<i>Total capital outlay (in mill. Rs.)</i>	<i>Nature and extent of Indian participation (as % of total outlay)</i>	<i>Date of sanction</i>
1. M/s Birla Bros (P) Ltd., Calcutta.	Nigeria	Engineering goods	3.37	49%	26-9-63
2. -do-	-do-	Textiles	8.10	50%	4.05
3. Indian Consortium (Parties to be decided later on).	Uganda	Sugar	120.00	45%	54.00
4. M/s Bengal Enamel Works, Calcutta.	Zambia	Enamel manufactures	2.05	49%	16-10-64
5. M/s R. M. Goculdas, Bombay.	Kenya	Textiles	20.00	50%	10.00
6. M/s Birla Bros (P) Ltd., Calcutta.	Nigeria	Expansion of the existing Oil Mill there.	0.40	25%	7-11-64
7. -do-	-do-	Palm kernal crushing plant.	2.70	25%	27-11-64
8. M/s Indian Hume Pipes Co., Calcutta.	Libya	Pipes	0.80	100%	0.80
9. Standard Pencil Factory, Madras.	Nigeria	Pencil factory	—	—	14-12-64
10. M/s H. L. Malhotra & Sons (P) Ltd., Calcutta.	Nigeria	Razor blade factory	2.60	61%	2-1-65
11. Bombay Soap Factory, Bombay.	Ethiopia	Soap factory	2.00	50%	8-2-65

B. Proposals under consideration

<i>Indian Party Interested</i>	<i>Country of collaboration</i>	<i>Field of collaboration</i>
1. M/s Indian Leather Corporation, Madras.	Nigeria	Tannery
2. M/s Chemo Pharma Laboratory Ltd., Bombay.	Nigeria	Pharmaceutical Industries.
3. M/s H. L. Malhotra & Sons (P) Ltd., Calcutta.	Ethiopia	Razor blade factory
4. M/s Anglo-India Jute Mills Co. Ltd., Calcutta.	Nigeria	Jute mill
5. Roadmaster Industries, Rajpura.	Uganda	Cycle factory

Indian factories and workshops. It is the desire of our businessmen to make this facility available to as large a number of candidates from this continent as possible. Again the Government of India is in a position to accommodate African students in various educational and training programmes, particularly those relating to the exploitation of natural resources. Indian consultants and experts could also be made available for training as well as helping in the execution of specific projects.

"We would also emphasise the urgent need for action to promote the trade of developing countries. The unity of purpose and solidarity shown by the group of 77 countries during the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development held last year has shown us the right way. So far as India is concerned, we shall be happy to do everything to raise the level of our trade with your countries. We need the products you have in abundance and we need them in increasing quantities. It is true that as producers and exporters of primary products trade between the developing countries today is dominated by exchange of such products only and forms only a small portion of world trade. There is however considerable scope for increasing the trade in semi-finished goods and manufactures among the developing countries themselves which, may I venture to say, has not been fully explored yet. As we proceed ahead with our efforts towards industrialisation and economic development, a conscious effort will have to be made by all the developing countries to increase trade in industrial products."

Notable Achievements

In his review of the activities of the ECA, Mr Robert K. Gardiner, Executive Secretary of the Commission, said there had been three notable achievements in the building of institutions during the year: the establishment of the African Development Bank; the final launching of the African Institute of Economic Development and Planning; and the first meeting of the Conference of African Planners.

He added: "Pride of place should perhaps be given to the African Development Bank. The resolution appointing the Committee of Nine was adopted at the fourth session and the Committee had completed its work before the fifth session. The agreement establishing the Bank was opened for signature at the Conference of Finance Ministers in Khartoum in August 1963. Little more than a year later 25 African Governments had ratified the agreement so that at the conference held in Lagos in October 1964 the Bank was launched, its President and Board of Directors elected and its site chosen. This is a remarkable achievement for Africa in a period of 2½ years. The Bank is now a fully independent institution. Its potentialities for African development are far wider than its still relatively modest capital. It is likely to become a major force both in preparing the ground for investments and in the investment process itself, since it will be able to attract much non-African capital and technical help. It is also likely to be a significant catalyst in the movement towards economic integration, particularly in industry, transport and energy.

"The African Institute for Economic Development and Planning started operations in a modest way with the aid of technical assistance funds in the autumn of 1963. Teething troubles were inevitable, particularly since it has not yet been possible to appoint an African Director

of suitable experience and standing. Needless to say there are many Africans who could fill this post, but no government or university has yet been willing to make the necessary sacrifice. The Plan of Operations was opened for signature in November 1964 on the occasion of the first meeting of the Conference of African Planners when the Governing Council was elected. The Council held its first meeting at the same time. Now the second year of the Institute's life, indeed its first official year, is under way and there are reasons for growing optimism. The first task of the Institute is to teach, but it must also be in a position as quickly as possible to carry out research and provide advisory services in the planning field to African Governments. Neither the African Governments who have sponsored the Institute, the ECA secretariat nor the Institute itself can be satisfied until it has built up a reputation comparable with a first class university.

"The third achievement was the successful first meeting of the Conference of African Planners, a new standing organ of the ECA which will meet every two years. Discussions at the first meeting were of a high order. The importance of this body lies not only in the nature of the problems which fall within its terms of reference, but also the link it provides between the activities of the ECA and the Dakar Institute.

"The secretariat is giving increasing thought to problems of development. Work already done has amply demonstrated the concrete possibilities of accelerating economic growth in Africa and the way in which the structure of the economies has to be changed. This is being reflected in development plans though in most countries there is still much to do. It is not enough, however, to prepare plans and programmes. These have to be translated into concrete projects. Entrepreneurship and management have to be developed and manpower trained. Without intensive work on these problems schemes for increasing growth rates will remain on paper. Thus the work programme of the ECA must increasingly reflect not only intensified efforts in a series of key sectors, but research into the wide-ranging but specific problems of realizing development plans in practice.

"In the secretariat's view accordingly the priority areas are :

- (a) The training of manpower of all kinds
- (b) Agriculture
- (c) Industry
- (d) Transport
- (e) Natural resources
- (f) Trade, monetary and fiscal problems
- (g) The realization of development plans.

"Clearly of course these activities are related and therefore the order suggested should not be taken as being a rigid one. On the other hand the other activities carried out in the ECA must be regarded at the present stage of development in Africa as of a lower order of priority for the time being.

"In accordance with these priorities the organization of the secretariat has been streamlined during the last year and there has been an appropriate re-distribution of the resources available. There are now seven

substantive divisions—agriculture, industry, transport and natural resources, trade and monetary problems, research, statistics, technical co-operation and training. Four of the posts of Heads of these divisions, in addition of course to the Executive Secretary, the Deputy Executive Secretary and the Secretary of the Commission, are now filled by Africans and it is expected that Africans will be appointed to two more of them during the course of 1965.

“A major effort has been made to develop the ECA’s training activities. The secretariat is grateful to the Director-General of the UNESCO for loaning an experienced official to head the ECA Training Section which is being strengthened. In addition, an internal Training Committee has been established to co-ordinate and stimulate the growing activities of the whole secretariat in this field. Many agencies, both multilateral, *e.g.* UNESCO, ILO and FAO, and bilateral, are playing a part in assisting African Governments to train manpower in many fields and at all levels. The ECA secretariat has no pretensions and indeed could not hope to contribute directly more than a tiny fraction of what is required, but it can and will do much more as a catalyst, initiator and co-ordinator.

“A critical examination of the secretariat’s past work in the training field is being undertaken. Outposts are being appointed in different non-African countries to assemble data on training facilities outside Africa and to keep track of the African student intake in different countries. Data is being assembled on training facilities within Africa with a view to assessing how they can be used, better what the gaps are, and how they can be closed.

“The secretariat is preparing a comprehensive survey of training requirements by fields of activity in the light of development plans or perspectives, but these can be fruitful only if there is close co-operation with African Governments. An examination is being made of ways and means of financing the new institutions and training courses required. An immediate step is to see how more advantage can be taken by African Governments of the training facilities which already exist both within Africa and on other continents.

“The cornerstone of the ECA’s efforts in the agricultural field is a joint programme with the FAO. The ECA’s contribution is now being intensified. Both the secretariat’s research work and the sub-regional meetings on economic co-ordination have demonstrated the scope not only for a marked increase in agricultural production, particularly for domestic markets, but also the prospects of increasing agricultural specialization and hence increasing inter-African trade in agricultural products. With the aid of experts provided under bilateral aid by the Polish Government and in co-operation with the FAO a survey is now in progress on the concrete possibilities of increasing meat production in West Africa. Another project planned is to examine the prospect of growing more rice in West Africa. A study is being made of the manufacture of bread flour from kassava with a view to saving imported wheat.

“In association with the German Foundation for developing countries, an expert meeting will be held on the economic response to different inputs in agriculture. Studies have been made, and more are in progress,

by FAO experts, in association with the ECA's efforts to promote sub-regionally co-ordinated fertilizer production, showing the tremendous potential for consumption of fertilizers in Africa and the immediate economic response which can be obtained by its application. More and more attention is being devoted to the so-called agro-allied industries to save imports, and by further processing of raw materials, to increase the yield of exports. The FAO's African Timber Trends Study prepared in co-operation with the ECA will be published shortly and will point the way to increased production and trade in both timber and timber products. Lastly, in the agricultural field, mention should be made of a report which has been prepared at the request of the ECA secretariat by a distinguished consultant, Professor Rene Dumont, with a wide-ranging approach to agricultural development and stressing in particular the author's imaginative ideas on rural animation.

"The main focus of attention in the secretariat's activities in industry during the last year has been to follow up the sub-regional industrial co-ordination missions.

"The greatest progress has been made in North Africa. It should be recalled that during the sixth session of the Commission delegates of the Maghreb countries requested the Executive Secretary to take the initiative in convening a ministerial meeting. In April 1964 senior officials from these countries met in Tangier, followed up by intensive contacts between the secretariat of the Tangier office and the four countries, and bilateral discussions between the countries themselves. The ground was finally prepared for a ministerial meeting in Tunis in September 1964. The four ministers and the Executive Secretary met in Tangier at the end of November to lay down the principles of economic co-operation.

"This ministerial meeting noted that a new era of economic co-operation between the Maghreb countries had emerged. A ministerial council, a standing consultative committee and a permanent secretariat were established, and the main lines of permanent co-operation to be carried out through these institutions established. These new institutions are essentially instruments of the Maghreb countries but substantial assistance from the ECA secretariat has been called for. The main tasks are the co-ordination of development plans, industrial harmonization, co-ordination and co-operation in industry and mining, co-operation in trade, in training and the utilization of manpower and the financing of development projects. Finally, arising out of this meeting a request by the four countries is being addressed to the United Nations Special Fund to establish a Maghreb Industrial Centre with headquarters in Tripoli and with close relations with the ECA Office at Tangier.

"A conference on Industrial Co-ordination in West Africa was held in Bamako in October 1964. It was convened jointly by the Executive Secretary and the President of Niger as a culmination of two parallel streams of activity, and was jointly prepared by the ECA secretariat and a group of consultants appointed by the President of Niger. A number of detailed studies were presented to this conference covering iron and steel, engineering, basic chemicals and fertilizers, textiles, cement and the food industries. A number of important decisions were taken which will be followed up by pre-investment studies and other expert surveys. There were particularly intensive discussions on the location of iron and

steel industries in West Africa but eventually compromise solutions were arrived at, which should give rise before long to the beginnings of iron and steel production in the sub-region. The conference revealed the difficulties of approaching industrial co-ordination even if a comparatively wide range of industries are taken into account, if it is not examined in conjunction with all the major aspects of economic co-ordination.

"Preparations are now under way for a conference of East and Central African countries to be held in Lusaka towards the middle of 1965. Once again the main theme is industrial co-ordination and intensive studies are being prepared. However on this occasion it is intended to present papers on the relevant subjects, notably the framework for the sub-region, trade, monetary and fiscal problems, transport, energy and in general the co-ordination of development plans in the sub-region.

"Finally, an intensive study is being made of the prospects of proceeding further from the Equatorial African Customs Union towards closer co-operation among the economies of Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad and possibly Congo (Leopoldville). This may well assist the Governments concerned in the negotiations they have now initiated.

"The secretariat would like to recall in this connexion the important recommendation made by the Conference of African Planners at its meeting held in Dakar towards the end of this year. This envisaged the setting up on a sub-regional basis of a series of committees to co-ordinate development plans. The secretariat believes that these bodies should be closely linked with the sub-regional co-ordination activities already under way. As has been seen these are well advanced in North Africa and substantial progress can be expected by the end of the year in East and Central Africa and Central Equatorial Africa. More remains to be done, however, in West Africa as a follow-up to the Bamako Conference. This is important if genuine co-ordination is to be achieved, the maximum impact of the different initiatives attained, and duplication of both meetings and secretariat facilities avoided.

"Transport is another key factor in the economic integration process and here again the ECA activities during the last year have been concentrated mainly on this aspect of the problem. A preliminary survey of inland transport in West Africa has been completed and it is hoped to present a similar survey on East and Central Africa to the Lusaka conference. The next step is to carry out pre-investment studies of the new links between countries, the need for which has been provisionally demonstrated, with a view subsequently to promoting actual investment. For this purpose the secretariat made an approach to non-African countries with a view to carrying out surveys of this type on the potential new links between African countries south of the Sahara other than the Republic of South Africa. A German team is already in the field and another from Italy is about to start work. A contribution is being made by the Netherlands on prospects of making navigable the Middle Niger River. Further teams are expected to be contributed by three other European countries. At a later stage it is intended to convene a meeting in Addis Ababa of the leaders of each team with a view to drawing conclusions concerning the next step, which might be recommended to African Governments, and at this stage the secretariat will be assisted by

an expert provided by the Government of the United States. In a similar vein much preliminary work has been done on the possibility of establishing a link across the Sahara. Meetings were held in Algeria, in May and December. A committee of ministers from Algeria, Tunisia, Niger and Mali has been established and two experts have been contributed by the United Nations with a view to making further surveys so as to prepare the ground for a possible request for a thorough feasibility study by the United Nations Special Fund. Yet another venture of this kind is a project designed to examine the possibility of improving transport facilities in the Great Lakes area. This may lead in due course to the submission of a request to the United Nations Special Fund by the countries concerned for a major pre-investment survey.

"Attention should be drawn to two other activities in the transport field. One is the Conference on African Air Transport held in November 1964, sponsored and prepared jointly with the ICAO. The other is a comprehensive survey just completed on shipping freight rates in West Africa. This is now being supplemented by a similar investigation relating to East Africa. This is being followed up by sub-regional meetings designed to assist negotiations between governments on a sub-regional basis for closer co-operation between national airlines.

"The joint ITU/ECA plan for the development of the African telecommunications network has now been worked out in considerable detail. It will be recalled that this is in two phases, short-term and long-term. Negotiations are proceeding with non-African governments to assist in the realization of this plan. A request is also being presented to the United Nations Special Fund for a detailed survey which will be the basis of the long-term plan. A comprehensive training plan is also being drawn up.

"Work has continued steadily on energy and natural resources although it has been somewhat hampered by staff shortages. In the field of water resources arrangements have been made for intensive co-operation with the Specialized Agencies.

"Much more attention is now being paid to training. The secretariat is taking an active part in the evolution of two international organizations which are taking shape in West Africa, namely, the Chad Basin Commission and the inter-State Organization in respect of the Niger River Basin. Closer contact will be established with similar arrangements around the Senegal River, and an active interest is being taken in the preliminary work on the Nile River.

"In mineral resources the secretariat's activities have been concentrated on the provision of advisory services to governments, assisting governments in drawing up applications to the Special Fund and recommendations on technical assistance. Although knowledge of African mineral resources is being steadily built up, there is still much to do, particularly in the smaller countries. It is often argued that African resources are abundant, but they have to be used, and used primarily to meet the continent's own needs. Increasing attention is therefore being paid to research on the solution of the specific problems which have to be faced. In this field also increasing emphasis is being given to manpower and training problems.

"In surveying and cartography, as a follow-up to the recommendations of the Regional Cartography Conference for Africa, a meeting of experts was held to consider proposals for establishing centres for training in photogrammetry, air-borne geophysical surveying and the interpretation of aerial survey data. Mapping and documentation facilities in Addis Ababa are being steadily built up and in this context the secretariat wishes to acknowledge gratefully a substantial collection of valuable maps from the United States Government. Arrangements are being made for a further expert meeting to examine proposals for the establishment of special common services in surveying and mapping.

"In the field of trade and payments the main event has been the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. The secretariat contributed a number of papers and in addition a secretariat team, headed by the Deputy Executive Secretary, was assigned to the conference for its duration. This team was able to help to service the Co-ordination Committee of African countries participating in the conference. The recommendations of the conference are now being carefully analyzed from the point of view of African countries and a preliminary paper is before the Commission. African countries are interested in increasing trade with countries in other continents, and there are promising possibilities of major developments in trade between African countries and the planned economies of Eastern Europe and Asian countries and the Far East. Nevertheless a principal pre-occupation in the coming years should be a major drive towards import substitution in a wide range of activity with, as a corollary, intensified sub-regional and regional co-ordination of development plans and increased intra-African trade. Related to this of course is Africa's vital interest in financial assistance, its volume, the terms on which it is offered and its continuity. Africa is naturally interested in schemes for compensatory financing, but this should be regarded as an aspect, and not the most important aspect, of financial aid generally. African countries are also naturally interested in efforts to break down barriers in the industrialized countries in the way of the entry of their semi-processed and processed goods; but the nature of their interests at this stage are not precisely identical with those of developing countries in other continents. Finally, African countries are also interested in better commodity arrangements but here again their interests are not necessarily identical with those of other developing countries further on the road to development. Africa should aim at a larger share of world markets for certain commodities in the production of which it is particularly advantageously placed. In the promotion of intra-African trade much progress is being made towards the conversion of tariffs of African countries to the Brussels Nomenclature where this has not been the system employed in the past, and in general progress is being made towards the harmonization of customs regimes. As part of the secretariat's work on economic integration referred to already possibilities are being examined of harmonizing customs regimes and procedures. Work is continuing on the analysis of obstacles to inter-African trade, both tariffs and quantitative restrictions.

"In the payments field a Conference of African Monetary Authorities was held in Tokyo, the location being chosen to take advantage of the presence there of African delegates to the annual meetings of the IMF and the IBRD. A technical paper on the possibilities of establishing an African Payments Union was presented and a substantial progress report

made on the approaches to and the work being done by the secretariat towards African monetary co-operation in its wider aspects. Despite the unanimous desire to examine an African Payments Union expressed by the sixth session of the Commission and the Organization of African Unity, the secretariat was somewhat disappointed by the limited progress made at the Tokyo Conference. Work on this problem is of course continuing.

"In this statement comparatively little need be said about the other activities of the secretariat which are reported upon in the reports before the Commission. The work on the Economic Survey of Africa is proceeding and the parts dealing with West and South Africa are about to go to the printer. It is expected to complete the parts dealing with North and East and Central Africa towards the end of this year, and the whole Survey will be completed by a synthesis dealing with Africa as a whole, which it is hoped will be published early in 1966. This is the first basic Economic Survey of Africa and should serve a number of purposes, not the least as an essential background to the promotion of economic growth, sub-regional or regional economic integration, and estimates of capital and manpower requirements essential to carry forward the tremendous development possibilities which are now opening up.

"Another series of estimates now being made arising out of this work relates to the requirements of African countries in foreign financial aid with a view to carrying out their development plans. Steady progress has been made in other fields, notably Housing, Statistics, Demography, Public Administration and Social Development.

"Another paper before you gives an account of our activities in the field of technical co-operation. The first part of this document, as in past years, describes the regional programme financed by United Nations Technical Assistance funds. The growing potentialities of the ECA's regional advisory service should be noted and the secretariat would like to remind governments that these services are available for short periods, but only at their request.

"The secretariat has been able to make an increasing contribution to country programmes under the technical assistance programme by advising on programming by briefing experts on the way to their country of assignment, and by assisting experts while they are in the field. It has also been able to play an increasing part in helping African Governments to formulate requests to the Special Fund.

The second part of the paper gives a summary account of conversations members of the secretariat have had in 12 countries outside Africa with aid programmes. Apart from education and training the discussions covered provision of short-term experts, pre-investment studies, research, and co-operation with the African Development Bank. The response to requests to provide technical assistance and aid to Africa and to share knowledge and skill was most encouraging, and the secretariat would like to take this opportunity of thanking publicly the governments of all the countries visited. The next task is to help African Governments to take full advantage of the wide range of facilities available under bilateral aid programmes.

"Considerable progress has been made during the last year in the establishment of sub-regional offices. A Director of African nationality has

been appointed in the Tangier Office and he has with him a small nucleus of experienced staff. The work already described towards the economic integration of the Maghreb countries is not the only activity of this office but is in itself evidence of what they have been doing.

"An experienced African has now been appointed as Director of the West African Sub-Regional Office in Niamey and an energetic programme of work is now under way. Another experienced African has also been appointed to head the East and Central African Sub-Regional Office in Lusaka and here again good progress has now been made. The fourth Sub-Regional Office has now been opened in Leopoldville with a skeleton staff and it is hoped to appoint a qualified African Director at an early date.

"These offices for the moment will continue to be modestly staffed but they will become increasingly the focal point of the ECA's sub-regional activities and officers with specialized qualifications will be sent there for varying periods as occasion demands.

"At this point reference should be made to the growing working relations between the Organization of African Unity and the Economic Commission for Africa. The secretariat has continued throughout the year to be at the disposal of the Organization of African Unity and its secretariat to assist them in every possible way within the limits of its terms of reference and its resources. Arrangements are now being worked out between the two secretariats, on the one hand to avoid duplication of effort, and on the other to provide mutual support in a common task. A draft agreement between the two organizations will shortly be submitted to the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

"Practical working relationships with the Specialized Agencies have continued to develop during the last year. The joint division on agriculture with the FAO is a long-standing and fruitful arrangement. The joint programme with ITU has proved to be of major importance. Reference has already been made to the contribution of UNESCO to the ECA's training activities. In addition, through a liaison officer, other joint activities are developing. Recently the secretariat has had discussions at the highest level with the secretariat of ILO, the practical results of which will be seen in the coming year, particularly in manpower planning and training. WHO has also appointed a liaison officer to the Commission and contributed a specialist on sanitary problems for the Housing Section. UNICEF has appointed a liaison officer and it is expected that the WHO will do the same in the course of the coming year. Finally, reference should be made to the fruitful co-operation established with the ICAO in preparing for and servicing the Conference on African Air Transport.

"There is one significant change in the pattern of documentation submitted to the Commission. Contrary to the practice in previous years the bulk of the documents on the agenda are relatively short and together give a succinct account of the ECA's activities in different fields during the past year. They are supplemented by the reports of the meetings which have been held during the year which are available from the documents office as background documents. However the main conclusions and recommendations of each of these meetings are summarized in the activity reports. This new procedure has been adopted to facilitate the business

purpose of the session and to provide delegates in good time with reports of a manageable length.

"There is a further step in the rationalization of the Commission's procedures to which the secretariat wishes to call attention.

"A thorough review has been carried out of the Commission's meeting policy starting with an examination of the main reasons for holding meetings. Specifically these are: the Commission's role as an inter-governmental body to take collective decisions for concerted action; expert meetings to resolve specific economic or technical problems; and seminars or courses with a training purpose. It is evident that there has been a tendency in recent years to convene too many meetings with, on the one hand, insufficient preparation and, on the other, too many calls on hard-pressed African ministers and senior officials. The secretariat proposes therefore to convene only a limited number of meetings in 1965. On the other hand, in the total schedule, the proportion devoted to training activities will rise sharply. Finally, the secretariat would wish once more to renew an appeal made at the fifth and sixth sessions that the Commission sessions should in future be held at two-yearly intervals."

As of Feb. 9, 1965, the following 36 countries were members of the ECA: Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Republic of S. Africa (barred from participating in ECA activities by a decision of the Economic and Social Council), Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, UAR, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Zambia.

As of Feb. 9, associate members: Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Equatorial Guinea, France, Gambia, Mauritius, Rhodesia, Spain, Swaziland, U.K.

Quarterly Chronicle

India and Africa

A further increase in India's trade with Africa—already more than doubled in the last four years—is expected in the near future.

To the list of about 90 engineering goods that are being exported by India to Africa—totalling Rs. 2.51 crores last year—will be added the single largest consignment of railway wagons worth Rs. 1.6 crores.

But even more significant is the increase expected soon in the field of joint industrial ventures. To the 11 projects already approved for implementation in various African countries, five more are expected to be added shortly.

These are for the establishment of a cycle factory, a tannery, a jute mill and a plant for pharmaceutical intermediaries. Those already approved—all of which are being sponsored by the private sector—include factories for the manufacture of items like textiles, sugar, engineering goods, razor blades, pencils, etc.

Most of these are to be set up in Nigeria, which is to get six of the factories already approved. Other countries in which such joint ventures are being launched are Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, Libya and Ethiopia.

Indian participation will be mostly in the form of provision of machinery, equipment and knowhow and in most cases it has been limited to 50% of the total outlay.

The Birla Bros., who have already under way several joint projects in Nigeria, Libya, Ethiopia, Sudan and Uganda, have established a division called the Industrial Development Consultants to help Governments and Government agencies, public utility concerns, public corporations, and private business houses in Africa. The services offered are of a comprehensive nature, including the carrying out of techno-economic surveys, assessment of manpower and technical resources and study of structural and locational problems of industries. The emphasis is on the training of Africans in all branches of technical and administrative activity.

With the inauguration of the Indo-UAR. Shipping Service on January 26, a further spurt is expected in the trade between the two countries. Speaking at the inauguration ceremony in Bombay, Mr. Anis Nematalla, acting Consul-General of the UAR, said: "We feel in the UAR. that we need contacts and co-operation with you. Our two

countries are passing through the same stage of political, social and economic progress. We face so many similar problems and try to devise similar solutions. We are trying to stand upon our own two feet, and we have decided to face the future, instead of trying to live on our past glories, or to excuse our present shortcomings. In the UAR, this is, indeed, the basis of our present political, social and economic life—the basis of our national awakening of revolution. I think that, in India, this is also your basis. That is why we feel many things in common and find ourselves comrades in arms—in the relentless battle for the welfare and dignity of our nations”.

Recalling the age-old ties between the two countries, Mr Raghunath Singh, MP, Chairman, National Shipping Board, said : “We have, in the past, introduced similar shipping services under bilateral agreements with countries like USSR and Poland, but the service we are inaugurating today is unique in the sense that this shipping agreement is the first of its kind we have concluded with countries in the Asian and African region.

“Most of the African and Asian countries have, however, attained political independence during recent years and are on the road to industrialisation and economic development. In the changed atmosphere, therefore, there is a growing desire on the part of these countries to re-establish their old contacts. The establishment of a shipping service between India and UAR is to my mind only the due fulfilment of this aspiration on the part of the two countries. I hope that more agreements of this kind will be concluded in future so that the Asian and African countries could promote their economic development by such co-operative endeavour.

“The trade between India and UAR has been steadily expanding during recent years. The commodities exported from India consist mainly of jute, gunnies and tea while the imports from UAR consist mostly of cotton, rock phosphate and rice. The trade between the two countries is, at present, carried by several foreign shipping lines, the Indian and UAR lines carrying between them only about 10% of it. With the introduction of the present service, I hope that the Indian and UAR lines will eventually be able to share this trade on a 50 : 50 basis. I understand that it is proposed immediately to have 24 sailings every year in either direction, 12 sailings being provided by Indian lines and 12 by UAR lines. This is a satisfactory beginning ; and it should be possible to increase the number of sailings as the trade and, consequently, the traffic, intensifies.”

Mr. S. R. Prasad, Secretary and Joint Manager, Shipping Corporation of India, said : “The traditional friendship and harmony of outlook which has consistently existed between our two countries of the United Arab Republic and India has been recognised as one of the most important developments of the post-war history and a great stabilising factor in the cause of peace and in the causes held dear by the developing nations. It is, therefore, a matter of great privilege and much gratification for the Indian shipping lines, viz. the Scindia Steam Navigation Co. Ltd., the India Steamship Co. Ltd. and the Shipping Corporation of India Ltd., to participate in this bilateral shipping service between India and the United Arab Republic. We have no doubt that this joint commercial venture will further strengthen the bonds of friendship which exist between the

peoples of India and UAR. The Shipping Corporation is particularly honoured that it has been appointed to co-ordinate this shipping service from the Indian side and, in addition, to be the chief booking authority for cargoes moving from Indian ports to UAR."

That there is considerable scope for expansion of India's trade with North Africa is revealed in a brochure of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry covering Algeria, Ethiopia, and the United Arab Republic.

The brochure says that, as in the case of East Africa, the trade between India and Northern Africa, was no more than 2.97 per cent, 2.95 per cent and 2.68 per cent of India's trade, and 2.29 per cent, 2.15 per cent and 1.84 per cent of Northern Africa's trade for the years 1961-62, 1962-63, and 1963-64, respectively.

Of the individual items imported from Northern Africa, raw cotton, rock phosphate and gum arabic form the main bulk. India imports a sizable portion of the raw cotton produced in the Sudan and the UAR, especially the long-staple variety. Rock phosphate is also imported from Tunisia, the UAR and Morocco. Indian exports mainly consist of tea, cotton and art silk piecegoods, hessian, cloth, black pepper, tobacco and vegetable oils.

India's exports to Africa have gone up from Rs. 1.7 million in 1962-63 to Rs. 3.5 million in 1963-64. Exports of jute goods, art silk fabrics and cotton textiles have promising export potentialities in the Algerian market.

In regard to Ethiopia, Indian exports have shown a steep downward trend in most items. This decrease has been more pronounced in cotton yarn and piecegoods and jute products. Exports of other traditional items, like sugar, have also been adversely affected. Ceylon in tea, West and Madagascar in sugar are India's major competitors and in spices many African countries are coming up as important suppliers.

India's exports to Morocco have also shown a steep downwards trend during the last three years. The surplus in trade balance, which stood at Rs. 11.6 million in 1961-62, narrowed down to Rs. 0.8 million in 1963.

Exports of Indian goods to Libya increased by about 65 per cent in 1963-64 as compared to 1962-63 mainly on account of unmanufactured tobacco, art silk fabrics, spices and jute bags. A downward trend has, however, been observed in certain items like cotton yarn and textiles due to keen competition from some European countries.

The trade deficit with Sudan considerably narrowed down in 1963-64 mainly because of smaller imports of cotton which fell from Rs. 16.7 crores in 1962-63 to about Rs. 8.3 crores in 1963-64. Cotton still continues to be India's principal import item from Sudan, accounting for 97 per cent of the total imports.

India is almost the sole supplier of jute goods to Sudan, although a declining trend has been noticed of late because of competition from China, Pakistan, the UAR and some East European countries.

Exports to Tunisia increased in 1963-64, especially of tea, jute goods and black pepper.

There was an adverse balance of trade with the UAR in 1963-64 mainly due to large imports of raw cotton and rock phosphate. As against this, export of all other items, except tea, declined. The downward trend was most striking in the case of jute goods because of competition from Pakistan and France.

Exports of other items, like railway track materials, diesel engines, electric fans and sewing machines also declined considerably.

According to the brochure, there is a good demand for Indian tobacco in the UAR. Price is said to be the main factor affecting Indian exports of castor oil. India can improve its exports of items like chemicals, salt and other allied products, structures of iron and steel bars and sheets, generators, motors, electric transformers, electric cables and insulated wires.

Nigeria : Constitutional crisis

Nigeria's six-day constitutional crisis following the December 1964 elections ended on January 4 with President Azikiwe asking Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa to form a broadbased Government. The Prime Minister announced that it was his intention to form a Government that would cater for "all our peoples" while the President appealed to those who had lost the elections to close their ranks and join "in the great task of nation-building". By initially refusing to call Sir Abubakar to form the new Government, President Azikiwe seemed to give the impression that he was not convinced of the validity of the polling because of the way the elections were conducted. Even before election day, there had been clashes and bloodshed in the Northern region. In protest the United Progressive Grand Alliance, the chief rival of the ruling Nigerian National Alliance, boycotted the election. Mr. Michael Okpara, Premier of the Eastern region and leader of the opposition in the Nigerian Parliament, described the election as a "farce" and warned that if free and fair elections were not forthcoming the break-up of the Nigerian Federation would have to be seriously considered. A compromise having been reached between the U.P.G.A. and N.N.A., a new Government was sworn in on January 13.

Parliament is to be called soon to introduce legislation to enable the remaining elections to be held. It appears that elections will not be held in the 19 Eastern Region seats declared unopposed, leaving 51 Eastern seats, three Lagos seats, and one mid-west seat, where polling did not take place. It has been decided that elections will be held at only those places where no voting took place at all and not in those constituencies where the number of voters had been so small as to make the election appear a mockery. The results will now be challenged in the courts.

Rhodesia : From bad to worse

The Foreign Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, who met in Nairobi in March after the failure of Mr. Arthur Bottomley's mission to Salisbury, decided to recognize an African Government in exile should the white minority regime of Rhodesia declare independence unilaterally. They were convinced that Britain would do little to intro-

duce majority rule in Rhodesia in the foreseeable future though it might insist on greater African representation in the Salisbury Parliament.

Mr. Bottomley's statement during his Salisbury visit that Rhodesia was responsible for its internal affairs and that Britain had no intention of interfering blasted the hopes of a constitutional conference on Rhodesia. Such a conference had been strongly recommended by the last Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and Prime Minister Wilson may have to face severe criticism from the next conference to be held in June. Mr. Bottomley's statement does not reflect the constitutional position correctly, for the covention of non-interference cannot stand in the way of Britain's constitutional responsibility to intervene in case of discriminatory legislation against Africans. Whitehall's overall sovereignty was implicit in Mr. Wilson's warning of economic sanctions in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence by the Rhodesian Government.

The Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), Rhodesia's largest African nationalist party, has interpreted Mr. Bottomley's mission as capitulation to Premier Ian Smith's white minority regime.

ZAPU gave its comments in the latest issue of the Zimbabwe Review, the party's official weekly organ published from Lusaka in Zambia. It criticized the British Government for its "most reckless and irresponsible attitude" in stating that no constitutional conference could be held unless all parties were willing to attend it.

The British stand, in ZAPU's view, amounted to placing the four million Africans of Rhodesia at the mercy of 200,000 Europeans. It was evident from Mr. Bottomley's pronouncements, the Zimbabwe Review editorial pointed out, that the white settler regime had been encouraged to go ahead with its plan to seize independence unilaterally knowing that Britain would not intervene.

Congo : The vicious circle

The 12-day ministerial council meeting of the Organization of African Unity ended in Nairobi on March 9 without any resolution being announced on the most controversial question before it—the Congo. The conference decided to submit the whole question to the conference of African Heads of State and Government in Accra next September.

The decision followed the rejection by Prime Minister Moise Tshombe of the report of the OAU ad hoc Commission on the Congo. The report had been drafted after a week's sitting of the reconciliation commission, which met in Nairobi under Kenya President Kenyatta's chairmanship.

In an interview published in the East African Standard, Mr. Tshombe said : "We have countries, such as Algeria and the United Arab Republic, which with their military personnel, weapons and arms support the rebels against my Government. They are members of the OAU commission. How do you expect me to accept a report drafted by people some of whom are a party to the show?" The argument about the Congo has run into a vicious circle. After Mr. Tshombe's initial acceptance of the OAU call for the withdrawal of his white mercenaries from the Congo, the justification for the aid for the rebels is that he has

violated this pledge. At the OAU Congo conciliation commission meeting only the Congolese Government representatives could attend. Mr. Tshombe's opposition ruled out a Sudanese proposal to give the rebels a hearing.

The Congo crisis, precipitated by the Belgian and U.S. operations in November, was considered by the UN Security Council in December. The Security Council unanimously called for the ending of foreign intervention in the Congo's internal affairs. It called for a cease-fire between the warring factions in the troubled nation, and appealed for an "urgent" withdrawal of foreign mercenaries serving with the Congolese forces. It urged renewed efforts to promote reconciliation. These points were contained in an amended resolution on the Congo presented by the Ivory Coast and Morocco. Ten members voted for the resolution while France abstained.

U.S. representative Mr. Adlai Stevenson said the resolution represented progress towards the creation of a better climate in the Congo, and towards better relations between the Congo Republic and its neighbours. He said the U. S. was ready to co-operate with the OAU in the task it had been assigned. The Congolese representative, Mr. Theodore Izumbuir, expressed regret that the resolution did not condemn those who supplied arms to the rebels. He said his Government could dispense with the aid of the mercenaries when the rebels stopped getting outside aid.

The Soviet representative, Mr. Fedorenko, said the resolution condemned the American-Belgian intervention in the Congo by unmasking it. Mr. Stevenson replied that the countries accused of criminal intervention were proud of having saved the lives of 2,000 innocent hostages.

Activities of the Council

THE following is an account of the activities of the Council during the quarter :

The Council arranged a lecture by Mr C. J. Obwangor, Uganda Minister of Justice, at Sapru House on January 23. Speaking on the vital role played by political friendship among nations in promoting world peace, he said friendship among nations must be based on mutual respect. It could not be offered under duress.

Mr Obwangor said the people of Uganda believed traditionally that only friendship could purchase friendship. He explained this by pointing out that the developed nations attached conditions to their offers of technical aid to the developing nations.

Mr Obwangor said it was Uganda's policy to offer friendship to all except those who wanted it by threats. After all, geographical size did not make for power or greatness. Uganda, with six million people, had an equal vote in the United Nations with a country having ten times its population.

An important factor standing in the way of understanding among nations, he said, was the abuse of world organizations by some "unscrupulous powers." These countries used organizations for promoting their power and influence and propaganda. It was the responsibility of every nation, big or small, to prevent such abuse of world bodies.

Mr Obwangor underscored the role of non-committed nations in leading the world into shedding political bias among peoples. They could shirk their responsibility only at the cost of world peace.

He said civilization connoted that man should share his knowledge and experience with fellow-beings for bringing about a better life. This was not possible except in an atmosphere of peace.

The role of non-committed nations assumed tremendous significance against the dark background of contemporary reality. Behind the facade of peace, there were, in Africa, areas of injustice, of foreign domination and of bitter internal strife within a nation. In Asia, too, countries had been divided and were seeking a solution through bloodshed. Then there were nations trying to impose their ideological beliefs and institutions on their neighbours.

Proposing a vote of thanks to Mr Obwangor, Mr K.C. Pant, General Secretary of the Council, stressed the friendly ties between

Uganda and India. These bonds were reflected in the composition of the Minister's entourage, which included persons of Indian origin who had adopted Uganda as their country.

Reception for Mr Hassouna

In association with the Indian Bureau of Parliamentary Studies and some other organizations, the Council played host to Mr A. K. Hassouna, Secretary-General of the Arab League of Nations, at a reception at Parliament House.

Welcoming Mr Hassouna, Mr K.C. Pant, General Secretary of the Council, recalled the age-old ties between India and the Arab countries that had led to the establishment of a tradition of friendship between them. This was not to say that there were no conflicts between them. There had been some differences but these had never stood in the way of their friendship. It was this tradition of friendship on which the late Prime Minister of India, Mr Nehru, based his policy towards the Arab countries. Mr Pant referred to the Council's activities and explained how it was trying to promote goodwill between India and other countries.

Replying, Mr Hassouna said he was grateful for the most generous and overwhelming reception accorded to him. He added : "You have all been genuine friends of the Arab people and of their legitimate national and social aspirations. You have been instrumental in mobilizing the public opinion of India to support without equivocation Arab rights and Arab freedom.

"The spontaneity of your sympathy is not a phenomenon of recent history, but it has roots in the old cultural relations between our two nations and also in the similarity of our contemporary national struggle and resurgence.

"The name of Jawaharlal Nehru will always be remembered for revitalising Indo-Arab friendship. He conceived of it as the corner-stone of the Afro-Asian resurgence. He was a real friend of the Arabs, understanding their creative potential, appreciative of and imbibing their cultural heritage, sympathetic to their problems. He visualised the purposive role that India and the Arabs could play on the world scene and also the mutual and healthy impact they could exercise on each other.

"Your efforts as well as our efforts should now be directed to exploring more avenues for Indo-Arab friendship which, in the words of Jawaharlal, is rooted in the sub-conscious self. Our common task should now be to raise this friendship to the level of consciousness."

Lecture by Nigerian envoy

The Council arranged a lecture by Mr. Adedokun A. Haastrup, Nigerian High Commissioner in India, at the India International Centre, New Delhi, on March 25. The lecture was attended among others by the Deputy Minister for Home Affairs, Mr. L.N. Mishra, several members of Parliament and representatives of voluntary organizations. Mrs. Violet Alva, Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, presided. Mr. Ravindra Varma, General Secretary of the Council, introduced the speaker. The text of Mr. Haastrup's speech is published elsewhere in this issue.

Reception for Kenya delegation

In association with the Congress Party in Parliament, the Council organised a meeting at Parliament House to welcome the Kenya Parliamentary Delegation which visited India in March. Mr. S. M. Ghose, Deputy Leader of the party, presided.

Welcoming the guests, Mr. Raghunath Singh, General Secretary of the Congress Party in Parliament, said Jomo Kenyatta, who led the freedom struggle of Kenya and was responsible for the freedom of his country and played a major part in the liberation of other countries of Africa as well, is a man of great foresight, sympathy and an outstanding statesman not only of Kenya but also of the world. "As President of Kenya and the Father of the Nation, he is leading the country towards the goal of African socialism. Last time, when a Kenya delegation visited India, we laid stress on the point that the people of Indian origin living in Kenya should accept full citizenship of Kenya and be loyal to their country, i.e. Kenya". Mrs. Vijaylaxmi Pandit said though she had not been to Kenya, she wished closer and friendly relations to develop between the two countries. They should aim at progress and betterment of their peoples and should have closer understanding of the real basic issues. Col. B. H. Zaidi said in all fields of development in Kenya Indians were anxious to play their part as friends and sympathisers.

Replying, Mr. Onyango, Leader of the Delegation, said India had done a great deal to help Kenya in her progress in education, trade and other fields.

Most of the Members of Parliament in Kenya were educated in India, he added. The Kenya Government considered the people of Indian origin living in Kenya as their friends. "The Government accords and will accord equal treatment and equal opportunities to Indians living there. They have been asked to take up Kenyan citizenship. We trust the Indians and we don't have any sense of discrimination against them. They are our friends."

Mr. Kibwage, another member of the delegation, said Kenya lauded India. "Kenya had, before independence, got help from India and India did much to drive away the colonial government so as to make us a free nation. India has done much in educating our people.

"We come here to see the development work in your country and how you have raised the standard of living of the people. We are very much impressed to see the development in this country. We have to learn many things from India."

The meeting was followed by a lunch attended among others by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Patron-in-Chief of the Council, and Mr. Dinesh Singh, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and Vice-President of the Council. Mr. Ravindra Varma, General Secretary of the Council, welcomed the guests.

Annual Meeting

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council and the annual general meeting were held in March. It was decided to set up a sub-

committee to finalize and speed the building programme of the Council. Another sub-committee was established to help in the implementation of the programme of activities for 1965 and, if considered necessary, to expand it. A detailed outline of the programme had been submitted by the General Secretaries of the Council.

The General Secretaries, in their annual report presented at the meeting, reviewed the progress made by the Council in its publication work and library services. The meeting observed two minutes' silence in memory of Jawaharlal Nehru. It adopted the following condolence resolution :

"The Indian Council for Africa expresses its sense of deep grief at the passing away of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Council conveys its deep sympathy to Shrimati Indira Gandhi and other members of the family in their tragic bereavement.

"Jawaharlal Ji held before his countrymen the vision of a self-reliant, democratic and socialist India. He laboured hard and incessantly to realize this vision. It was under his stewardship that India launched out on the path of planned development. He also gave shape to the concept of a nationhood which embraced in its scope the rich diversity of India.

"Jawaharlal was no narrow nationalist. He was essentially a citizen of the world and laboured throughout his eventful life for world peace.

"He was a friend of the oppressed nations of the world, particularly the peoples of Africa who were struggling for their freedom and independence. The Indian Council for Africa will always remember with gratitude the sympathy and support he extended to it in its humble efforts to forge the bonds of mutual understanding between India and Africa."

Greetings to Gambia, Morocco

The Council sent greetings to Gambia on the occasion of its achievement of independence and to Morocco on the anniversary of its independence.

Newspapers for library

The Council library began receiving complimentary copies of the *Ghanian Times* and the *Daily Graphic* through the courtesy of the Ghana High Commissioner in Delhi, Mr. S. Anthony.

Book Exhibition

The Council took part in an exhibition of books organised by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. It loaned to the ICCR books and pamphlets for the purpose.

Aid for FRELIMO

The Council sent to the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), which has its headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, two bales of Khaki and two sewing machines on the request of Mr. Uria Timoteo Simango, Vice-President of the Front. It also plans to send a consignment of medicines FRELIMO has asked for.

Selected Bibliography on Africa

Compiled by MOHD. AHMAD

This feature is presented every quarter with the object of providing a list of recent publications on Africa. It is hoped that this will be helpful to those who are specially interested in the study of African affairs.

—Editor

ABEDI, A. *African conference on local courts and customary law ; record of the proceedings.* Dar-es-Salaam, Fac. of Law, Univ. Coll., 1964. 143 p.

ADU, AMMISHADAI LAWSON. *The civil service in new African States.* London, Allen & Unwin. 25/-. 1965. 3-242 p.

ALAGOA, E. J. *The small brave city-State : a history of Nembe-Brass.* Ibadan, University Press. 1964. 173 p.

ASHBY, ERIC. *African universities and Western tradition.* Cambridge, Harvard University Press. 2.95. 1964. 113 p.

BELLWOOD, W. A. *Whither the Transkei ?* London, Bailey & Swinfen. 1964. 124 p.

BLIJ, HARM J. DE. *A geography of sub-Saharan Africa.* Chicago, Rand McNally. 8.50. 1964. 435 p.

BOHANNAN, PAUL J & GEORGE DALTON (EDITORS). *Markets in Africa : Eight subsistence economies in transition.* New York, Doubleday & Company. 1.95. 1965. 372 p.

BOWN, L. & CROWDER, M. (EDITORS). *The proceedings of the first International Congress of Africanists.* London, Longmans. 1964. xi, 368 p.

BROWN, C. V. *Government and banking in Western Nigeria.* Ibadan, Oxford University Press. 1964. 141 p.

BURKE, FRED G. *Africa's quest for order.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc. 4.50. 1964. 177 p.

CRISP, R. *The outlanders : the men who made Johannesburg.* London, Davie, 1964. ix, 435 p.

CURTIN, PHILIP D. *The image of Africa : British ideas and action, 1780-1850.* Madison, University of Wisconsin Press. 8.00. 1964. xvii, 526 p.

DAY, J. R. *Railways of Northern Africa.* London, Barker. 1964. 144 p.

DESAI, R. (EDITOR). *Christianity in Africa as seen by Africans*. Denver, Col. Swallow. 1962. 135 p.

DE VILLIERS, H. H. W. *Rivonia, Operation Mayibuye : a review of the Rivonia trial*. Johannesburg, African Pers-Boekhandel. 1964. 120 p.

ELISOFON, ELIOT. *The Nile ; introduction by Laurens Van der Past*. London, Thames and Hudson. 84/-. 1964. 292 p.

FOOT, HUGH. *A start in freedom*. New York, Harper & Row, 4.95. 1964. 256 p.

FOX, A. J. *Uzuakali, a short history*. London, Oxford University Press. 1964. 113 p.

FRAENKEL, M. *Tribe and class in Monrovia*. London, Oxford University Press. 1964. xii, 244 p.

FRANCK, THOMAS M. *East African unity through law*. London, Yale University Press. 5.50.

GAILEY, HARRY A. *A history of the Gambia*. London, Routledge & K. Paul. 35/-. 1964. xi, 244 p.

GELFAND, MICHAEL. *Lakeside pioneers : socio-medical study of Nyasaland*. Oxford, Blackwell. 30/-. 1964. X, 330 p.

GREEN, M. M. *Ibo village affairs*. New York, Praeger. 1964. 262 p.

GRZYBOWSKI, KAZIMIERZ. *The Socialist Commonwealth of Nations*. London, Yale University Press. 7.50.

GUTTERIDGE, WILLIAM (FRANK). *Military institutions and power in the new states*. London, Pall Mall P. 25/-. 1965. viii, 182 p.

HAHN, EMILY. *Africa to me : person to person*. New York, Doubleday & Company. 4.95. 1964. 277 p.

HARRIGAN, ANTHONY. *Red star over Africa*. Parow, South Africa. Nasionale Boekhandel Beperk. 2.10. 1965. 109 p.

HAYWOOD, A. H. W. & CLARK, F. A. S. *The history of the Royal West African Frontier Force*. Aldershot. Gale & Polden. 1964. xi, 540 p.

HIBBEN, FRANK CUMMINGS. *Hunting in Africa*. London, Hale. 18/-. 1964. 191 p.

HUTT, W. H. *The economics of the colour bar*. London, Deutsch. 1964. 189 p.

KIRKMAN, J. S. *Men and monuments on the East African coast*. London, Lutterworth Press. 1964. 224 p.

KITCHEN, HELEN (EDITOR). *A handbook of African affairs*. New York, Praeger (for the African-American Institute). 6.00. 1964. 311 p.

LANGLANDS, B. W. *Nationalism, regionalism and federalism*, Kampala, Makerere University. 1964. 63 p.

LEGUM, C. & LEGUM M. *South Africa : crisis for the West*. London, Pall Mall. 1964. vi, 333 p.

MOORE, HUGH CECIL. *A careers guide for East Africa*. London, Collins. 6/-. 1964. 128 p.

MORGENTHAU, RUTH SCHACHTER. *Political parties in French-speaking West Africa*. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 55. 1964. 445 p.

NADEL, GEORGE H. & PERRY CURTIS. *Imperialism and colonialism*. New York, Macmillan. 1964. vi, 154 p.

NEWBURY, C. W. *The West African Commonwealth*. Durham, Duke University Press. 1964. xiv, 106 p.

NICOL, D. *Africa—a subjective view*. London, Longmans. 1964. viii, 88 p.

O'BRIEN, CONOR CRUISE (I.E. DONAT CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN). *To Katanga and back : a U. N. case history*. London, New English Library. 6/-. 1965. 381 p.

PARET, PETER. *French revolutionary warfare from Indo-China to Algeria*. New York, Praeger (for the Center of International Studies, Princeton University). 4.95. 1964. 163 p.

POST, K. W. J. *The New States of West Africa*. London, Penguin. 1964. 206 p.

REA, FRED B. (EDITOR). *Southern Rhodesia, the price of freedom*. Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia, Stuart Manning. 6/-. 1964. 141 p.

REDMORE, G. B. *Under the Southern Cross ; South America, Australasia, Africa*. London, Murray. 12/6. 1964.

ROBINSON, R. (EDITOR). *African development planning*. Cambridge conference on development planning. Cambridge, Camb. Univ. Overseas Stud. Ctte. 1964. 148 p.

SCANLON, D. G. (EDITOR) *Traditions of African education*. New York, Bureau of Pub., Teachers Coll. Columb. Univ. 1.95.

SCHRAMM, WILBUR. *Mass media and national development*. Stanford, California Stanford University Press. 7.50. 1964. 333 p.

SPARROW (JOHN WALTER) GERALD. *Visiting Egypt*. London, Jarrolds. 21/-. 1964. 110 p.

STERLING, T & KIMBLE, G. H. T. *Exploration of Africa*. London, Cassell. 1964. 153 p.

TAFAWA BALEWA, ALHAJI SIR ABUBAKAR. *Nigeria speaks : speeches made between 1957 and 1964 ; selected and introduced by Sam Epelli ; Forward by the Hon. T. O. S. Benson*. London, Longmans. 30/-. 1964. xiii, 178 p.

ULLENDORFF, EDWARD. *The Ethiopian : an introduction to country and people*. London, Oxford, University Press. 30/- 1965. xv, 235 p.

WALLBANK, T. W. *Contemporary Africa : continent in transition*. Princeton, Van Nostrand. 1964. 191 p.

WALLBANK, T. W. *Documents on modern Africa*. Princeton, Van Nostrand. 1964. 191 p.

WELLARD, J. H. *The great Sahara*. London, Hutchinson. 1964. 350 p.

WHITAKER, P. *Political theory and East African problems*. London, Oxford University Press. 1964. 116 p.

YUDELMAN, M. *Africans on the land*. London, Oxford University Press. 1964. xiv, 218 p.

ZOLBERG, ARISTIDE R. *One-party government in the Ivory Coast*. Princeton, Princeton University Press. 7.50. 1964. 375 p.

Report of Seminar on

**PROBLEMS OF
SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION
IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

Pp. 125, Price Rs. 4

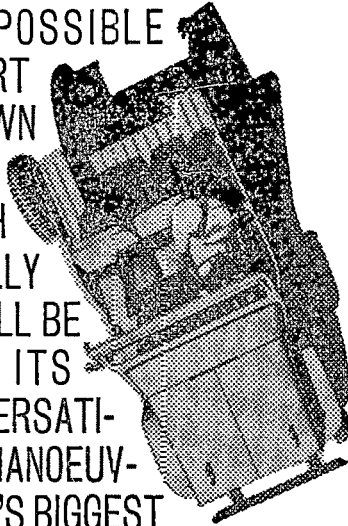
Published by


The Indian Council for Africa

5, CURZON LANE, NEW DELHI

A ROAD IS NOT THE ONLY PLACE
WHERE YOU CAN DRIVE A JEEP.

DRIVE IT OFF THE ROAD. RUN
IT THROUGH IMPOSSIBLE
TERRAIN. ON A CART
TRACK. UPHILL. DOWN
A ROCKY SLOPE.
THROUGH SLUSH
AND MUD. VIRTUALLY
ANYWHERE. YOU WILL BE
ASTOUNDED BY ITS
STRENGTH AND VERSATI-
LITY! POWERFUL, MANOEUV-
RABLE, THE WORLD'S BIGGEST
LITTLE VEHICLE IS UNBEATA-
BLE IN PERFORMANCE AND
ECONOMY. IT HAS A 72 BRAKE
HORSE POWER ENGINE. A 4
WHEEL DRIVE...CAN BE EASILY
ADAPTED TO MANY USES.



THE JEEP UNIVERSAL IS THE
 MOST DEPENDABLE
VEHICLE YOU CAN OWN

MAHINDRA & MAHINDRA LTD.
BOMBAY • CALCUTTA • DELHI • MADRAS

Authorised dealers

AUTOMOTIVE MANUFACTURERS PVT. LTD., Secunderabad • BHOPAL MOTORS PVT. LTD., Bhopal •
CAMA MOTORS PVT. LTD., Ahmedabad • CENTRAL AUTOMOBILES, Raipur (M.P.) • GARAPATI GARAGE
(1959) Vijayawada • GHATAGE & PATIL, Kolhapur • HIRAKUD MOTORS, Sambalpur • INDIA GARAGE,
Bangalore • INDIA GARAGE, Madras • JADWET TRADING CO., Port Blair (Andaman & Nicobar Islands) •
JAMMU & KASHMIR MOTOR CORP., Jammu-Tawi (Kashmir State) • LAWLY SEN & CO., Patna • METRO
MOTORS, Bombay • METRO MOTORS (KATHIAWAR) PVT. LTD., Rajkot • NARAIN AUTOMOBILES,
Lucknow • NARBHERAM & CO. PVT. LTD., Jamshedpur • PATNAIK & CO. PVT. LTD., Cuttack •
PROVINCIAL AUTOMOBILE CO. PVT. LTD., Nagpur • SANGHI BROS., (INDORE) PVT. LTD., Indore •
SANGHI MOTORS, New Delhi (Branch: Chandigarh) • SILVER JUBILEE MOTORS PVT. LTD., Poona • T.V.
SUNDRAM IYENGAR & SONS PVT. LTD., Madurai • TASHI COMMERCIAL CORPORATION, Phuntsoing
(Bhutan) • TENZING & TENZING, Sikkim • UNITED MOTORS OF RAJASTHAN, Jaipur • VISHNOO V
KAMAT TARGAR, Cidade De Goa, Goa • WALFORD TRANSPORT LTD., Calcutta (Branches: Dibrugarh &
Siliguri)

The British India Corporation Ltd.

K A N P U R

Manufacturers of :

B.I.C. QUALITY PRODUCTS

that are house-hold words

- ★ LALIMLI & DHARIWAL
pure-wool fabrics and knitting yarns
- ★ FLEX famous shoes
- ★ N.W.T. leather travel goods
- ★ ELGIN towles and 'Sanforized' cottons
- ★ BRUSHWARE products
- ★ CAWTEX hosiery

IN FRIENDSHIP Though continents apart, the peoples of Africa and India are steadily moving closer to each other sharing the same belief—a belief in freedom and a belief in the dignity of man. It is this, more than anything else, that is the basis of our friendship which is constantly being strengthened by a two-way commerce of ideas and people—a healthy commerce of mutual benefit to both.

And IAC for its part feels justly honoured to have contributed to this friendship by sending out a team of technicians to serve in Nigerian Airways.

INDIAN AIRLINES



IAC-1700

7 % ON FIXED DEPOSITS
INTEREST UP ! TAXES DOWN !!
NOW YOU'LL TAKE MORE INTEREST IN SAVINGS

Less taxes mean more money in hand for you.
So you can put more money in the State Bank
and get more interest !

NEW INTEREST RATES EFFECTIVE FEBRUARY 18, 1965.

SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNTS :	4 %
SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS :	5 %
SHORT - TERM DEPOSITS :	
Up to 14 days	Nil
15 to 45 days	1½ %
46 to 90 days	3 %
FIXED DEPOSITS	

For 91 days and over but less than 6 months	5 %
--	-----

For 6 months and over but less than 12 months	5½ %
--	------

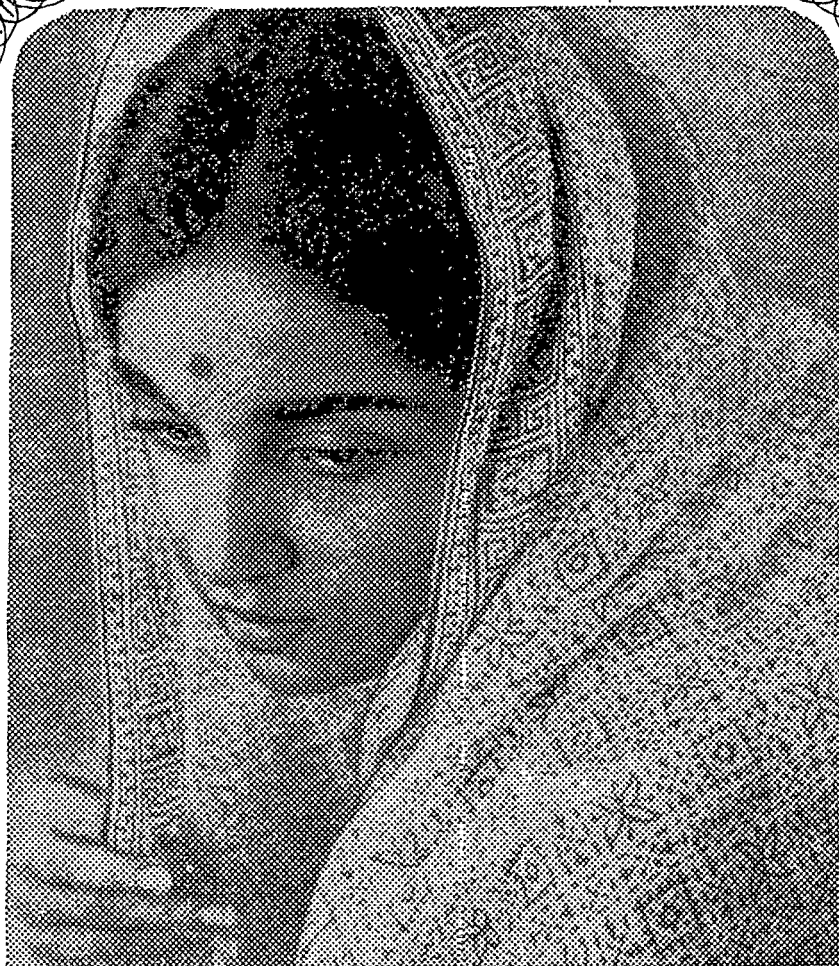
For 12 months and over but less than 24 months	6 %
---	-----

For 24 months and over but less than 36 months	6¼ %
---	------

For 36 months and over but less than 60 months	6½ %
---	------

For 60 months and over	7 %
------------------------	-----

STATE BANK OF INDIA
INDIA'S BIGGEST BANK



Unmistakably Indian. Timelessly lovely!

MAFATLAL
GROUP
2x2 FULL VOILES • LENOS



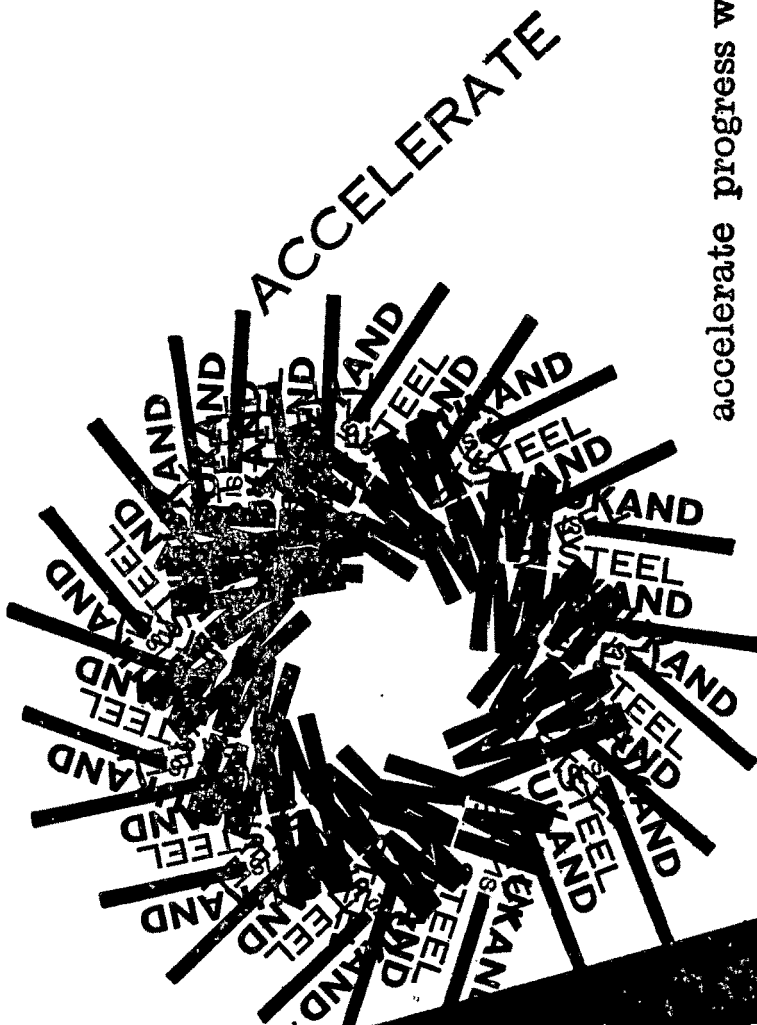
NEW SHORROCK (S. SHORROCK), Ahmedabad • NEW SHORROCK, Nadiad • STANDARD, Bombay • STANDARD (NEW CHINA), Bombay
 STANDARD, Deesa • SASSOON, Bombay • SASSOON (NEW UNION), Bombay • SURAT COTTON, Surat • MAFATLAL FINE, Navsari
 Alvars MGV. 463 D

Enchanting Perfume

**Mysore Sandalwood Oil is the best in the world
and is recognised as the world's
Standard of Quality**

ENSURE THAT YOU GET ONLY THE
GENUINE SANDALWOOD OIL ORIGINAL
CONTAINERS WITH THE MYSORE
GOVERNMENT SEAL AND LABEL

The Mysore Government
SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY
MYSORE



ACCELERATE

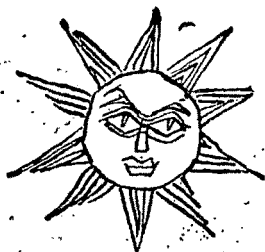
accelerate progress with steel

accelerate progress with steel

MUKAND
IS —
STEEL



CONTRIBUTE NOW
CONTRIBUTE GENEROUSLY
TO NATIONAL DEFENCE



indian handicrafts

... carpets with liveliness of traditional motifs and a wide range of colours ... costume jewellery with elegant simplicity and superb workmanship ... silver filigree breathtaking in beauty ... art metalware ... pieces of copper and brass some encrusted with silver or burnished with gold ... intricately carved ivory pieces ... sandalwood objects with a delicate natural fragrance ... artistically designed walnut wood or horn articles ... gay Jaipur blue, Delhi black or Khurja pottery in endless designs and shapes ... every piece a masterpiece ... a work of art and tradition ... enriched by every generation of craftsmen ...



add

**distinction
and charm
to your home**

All India Handicrafts Board